
THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

'As if cease-fire had never been signed'
Thieu reinforces police state in South Vietnam



Saigon regime sends heavily sandbagged tanks into action outside Hue. For Indochina news and analysis, see pages 9-11.

113 victims of anti-Arab terror

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FINAL VICTORY IN McSURELY CASE: After five and a half years, Alan and Margaret McSurely have finally defeated the attempts of government officials in Kentucky and of the federal government to victimize them for their political activity. On Feb. 20, the Justice Department announced it would not appeal a court decision reversing their conviction for contempt of Congress.

In August 1967, following their participation in a successful battle against a strip-mining operator in Pike County, Ky., the Pike County Commonwealth's attorney, Thomas Ratliff, led a raid on the McSurely's house. Ratliff, a former mine operator, had obtained a warrant charging the McSurelys with "creating turmoil among the poor," spreading "Communist theory," and plotting the overthrow of the government of Pike County.

The courts soon ruled that the arrest of the McSurelys was unconstitutional. In the meantime, Ratliff invited congressional witch-hunting committees to review their books and papers. They were subpoenaed by a Senate subcommittee investigating the ghetto rebellions in October 1967 and were charged with contempt of Congress when they refused to produce material that was irrelevant to the investigation and had been illegally seized.

NEW GOVERNMENT FRAME-UP IN KENTUCKY: Now that one case of political persecution in Kentucky has been laid to rest, the government has moved to open up a new one. Pretrial hearings have begun in the case of four men involved in the Matrix drug treatment program in Lexington, Ky. Jon Wildes, Michael Clarkson, Ridge Hofmeyer, and Danny Hill have been held on charges ranging from possession of firearms and assault to using the drug treatment house as a center for orgies.

The charges, which followed an illegal search of the rehabilitation center by local police and FBI agents last March, were inspired by the political activity of the Matrix Four, who attempted, according to Wildes, to involve addicts "in the struggle to change the society that produced the problem in the first place." The Committee to Free the Matrix Four, P.O. Box 3067, Louisville, Ky. 40201, has been formed to support the four defendants.

GAY CHURCH RAZED BY FIRE: The Los Angeles Metropolitan Community Church, a church for homosexuals, was burned out last month by a fire of "suspicious origin." Meanwhile, the church pastor, the Reverend Troy Perry, announced that a suit was being filed against the state of California for its refusal to permit counseling of prison inmates by church ministers. Founded four years ago, the church was the initiator of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, which now has congregations in 40 cities.



Los Angeles Metropolitan Community Church

Militant/Harry Ring

GEORGE MCGOVERN MAKES HIMSELF PERFECTLY CLEAR: Antiwar activists who might have noticed the absence of Democratic Party 1972 presidential candidate George McGovern at the Jan. 20 antiwar demonstration in Washington may be interested in the senator's explanation. He recently spoke to reporters over breakfast. The Feb. 15 *Christian Science Monitor* described what happened:

"The Senator . . . said that his reasons for not being at the presidential inaugural were twofold—to show his disagreement with the President over the massive bombing and, at the same time, to avoid participation in the counter-inaugural, led by some who had been McGovern supporters.

"Of his reasons for not being a part of this anti-Nixon move, he said: 'It was not my role. I feel it would have been misinterpreted.' Asked if he meant it would be 'misinterpreted' by voters in South Dakota, he would not elaborate."

'BILLY GRAHAM, THE POPE, AND FEMINISM': This was the title of a recent talk given by Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party 1972 candidate for president, at Marist College in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. Two hundred and fifty students at the predominantly Catholic school attended the meeting, which was video-taped for showing in classes.

Many in the friendly audience stayed after the talk for a long question-and-answer session.

On Feb. 18, Evelyn Reed, the well-known feminist and Marxist anthropologist, was the keynote speaker at a feminist week at Wittenberg University in Springfield, Ohio.

These speakers and many others are now available to fulfill speaking requests from a newly formed speakers bureau—VIEWPOINT: Speakers for Radical Change. To arrange meetings, and for information on speakers, dates, and fees write: P.O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 255-9229.

YWLL leaders remain silent on Philly attack

There has been widespread condemnation among radical activists in Philadelphia of the Feb. 16 assault by Philadelphia Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) leader Royce Adams on Harvey McArthur, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Mike Maggio, a longtime YWLL activist at Temple University, said of Adam's attack, "He was wrong. He shouldn't have done it."

However, *Militant* correspondent Val Libby reports that in a telephone conversation with her Adams admitted the attack on McArthur, claimed he was justified, and threatened to "throw him through the window" if he returned to the DuBois Bookstore, the YWLL headquarters where the assault took place.

Adams also threatened Libby, saying that if she came to the YWLL headquarters to try to set up a debate, "I would punch you in the mouth." The attack on McArthur followed Adams's agreement to discuss the possibility of a debate on the Paris accords and the situation in Southeast Asia.

Tony Monteiro, chairman of the Philadelphia YWLL, has been unavailable for comment. Jarvis Tyner, YWLL national chairman, has not answered a letter from YSA National Secretary Andrew Pulley asking him to repudiate the use of violence within the movement. Tyner refused to discuss the matter when called by Laura Miller, national organization secretary of the YSA.

JUSTICE FOR ALL—BUT SOME GET MORE THAN OTHERS: Five years ago three unarmed Black students in Orangeburg, S.C., were shot to death by state police following protests against a segregated bowling alley. Nine highway patrolmen were charged with violating the civil rights of the murdered students, but they were all acquitted by a federal jury.

But punishment did come to somebody. On Feb. 17, Cleveland Sellers began serving a year in prison. Sellers, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at the time, was wounded in the shooting and later was convicted on charges of rioting for his role in an earlier demonstration. As Sellers said before he surrendered to begin serving his sentence, "it has to appear somebody is responsible for the murder of those students other than the people who actually did the murdering."

If you subscribe to The Militant and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address into The Militant business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

'FEMINISM WAS A KEYSTONE OF HER CAMPAIGN': says an article in the March 1973 issue of *Ms.* magazine about Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president in 1972. The article describes Jenness's socialist strategy for the women's liberation movement and outlines some of the major accomplishments of the Jenness-Pulley campaign, including successful legal challenges to restrictive ballot laws.

Ms. concluded, "Though there was controversy about the Jenness-Pulley campaign as a possible 'spoiler'—that is, a divisive force that might deflect votes and campaign workers from more viable candidates—it clearly raised important issues and established legal precedents."

—DAVE FRANKEL

NPAC and SMC picket White House

'U.S. Out Now' actions set for Thieu visit

By PETER SEIDMAN

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 24 — Two hundred people participated in a White House picket line and joint national steering committee meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) here today. The antiwar activists from 48 cities in 18 states came to express their determination to remain in the streets demanding a total end to U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia.

A spirited picket line of about 150 circled in front of the White House for about two hours. Two days before the Paris conference to "guarantee the peace" in Vietnam, the demonstrators listed the many ways in which the U. S. remains in Southeast Asia to back up regimes acceptable to Washington: 10, 000 civilian advisers in Vietnam, economic and military aid to the Thieu regime, air bases in Thailand, the Seventh Fleet off the coast of Vietnam. Each example was followed with the chant of "Out Now!"

Fran Froehle, who drove 19 hours to get to Washington from Minneapolis, seemed to sum up the feeling of most of the demonstrators. "I don't believe the U. S. is really getting out," she said. "The U. S. is still deeply involved in Vietnam, and we need to keep on having actions like this and educational work."

The picket line was covered by five network and local TV stations and numerous radio stations and newspapers, including the *New York Times*. Afterwards, the participants marched to the Metropolitan AME Church for the first national steering committee meeting of both NPAC and SMC since the massive Jan. 20 demonstrations and the signing of the Vietnam accords in Paris Jan. 27.

John T. Williams, one of NPAC's

national co-coordinators, opened the meeting and introduced an educational panel on the current state of the war and the meaning of the Paris accords.

Panelists included Katherine Sojourner and Jerry Gordon, both NPAC national co-coordinators, and Professor Gabriel Kolko of York University in Toronto.

Following the educational panel, there was a brief evaluation of the Jan. 20 antiwar demonstrations by Abe Bloom of the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition (WAPAC); John T. Williams, of NPAC-West in Los Angeles; and Ruth Gage-Colby, an NPAC national co-coordinator.

Jim Lafferty then reported for NPAC's national coordinating committee on the perspectives for antiwar action in the months ahead.

Lafferty based his proposals on an analysis of what NPAC's coordinating committee believes to be the thinking of the American people and on what can be expected in Vietnam. "On one hand," Lafferty said, "the American people feel a sense of relief that the war is over. On the other hand, there is great skepticism about whether, in fact, the war is really over, a skepticism born of a generation of lies."

He pointed out that the situation in Vietnam remains very unstable. "We don't know the exact date Thieu will be threatened with falling in Vietnam, but we know this will happen. . . . We don't know the exact date this will force the U. S. to intervene again, but we know it will happen. . . ."

Lafferty maintained that the antiwar movement must reaffirm its determination to stay in the streets.

He described how, "Some say, you're right, the war isn't over—but the time for demonstrations and picket lines has passed. . . . But the facts are there will be numerous opportunities when



150 demonstrators at White House demand an end to continued U. S. intervention in Southeast Asia.

Militant/Mark Satinoff

we must take to the streets. We don't know how big these demonstrations will be. . . . But we must keep bringing our message to the public."

Lafferty then made a motion for NPAC's coordinating committee that national antiwar actions be held this spring to coincide with the visit of South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu to the U. S. Since the date and itinerary of Thieu's visit have not yet been made public, Lafferty proposed that the exact call for the action be announced later by the coordinating committee.

Lafferty proposed that local areas immediately begin building for this demonstration by issuing educational materials. He said, "It is essential in the period ahead that we strengthen our organizational structure. It may be that offices have to be shifted to less expensive facilities, money will be tight. But it is essential that we keep up our activities in local areas, maintain our mailing lists, etc."

Lafferty's report was followed with remarks by Chuck Petrin, SMC national coordinator, on the tasks of the student antiwar movement. Petrin pointed out that "the truth about Vietnam is more widely known on the campuses. The hatred and distrust of the government's war policies are much greater. This means the opportunities for the SMC to gain a hearing are very great. We should take full advantage of these opportunities."

Petrin then described a number of projects that student antiwar activists could undertake, including campus press conferences, aggressive use of the campus press (news articles, weekly columns, and letters) to tell the truth

about the war, educational meetings and dorm raps, and continued actions against campus complicity.

Petrin also pointed to the importance of the SMC continuing to participate in the defense of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo; victims of military racism, such as the Black sailors in San Diego; and exiled draft resisters.

Following the discussion on Lafferty's and Petrin's reports, the motion to build a national demonstration on the occasion of Thieu's U. S. visit was unanimously passed by the 200 conference participants.

Abe Bloom and Chuck Petrin were elected as additional national co-coordinators of NPAC. The meeting also sent a telegram to the striking Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, solidizing with them as victims of war-caused cutbacks in funds for decent education.

Following the joint steering committee meeting, the SMC steering committee held a separate meeting, at which Chuck Petrin was elected as the new SMC national coordinator.



Chuck Petrin

Militant/Mark Satinoff



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Gabriel Kolko addressing joint steering committee of NPAC and SMC, Feb. 24

Government blocks pro-Ellsberg CIA evidence

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—As the prosecution concluded presentation of its case in the Pentagon papers trial it had become increasingly apparent that governmental cloak-and-dagger operations are not limited to activities abroad. In three separate instances the government of the United States was caught red-handed trying to suppress evidence favorable to the defense and doing so in clear violation of its own laws.

On Feb. 9, prosecutor David Nissen read a curious notice into the court record. It stated: "A Mr. Samuel A. Adams, Route 4, Box 240, Leesburg, Va., has expressed the view that he has information which would rebut statements by government witness William DePuy as reported in a newspaper."

He also read into the record an apparent crank letter advising that General Paul Gorman, another prosecution witness, was responsible for all the poverty in the world.

A defense attorney inquired if some kind of a joke was being made, but the matter was shrugged off.

Then a week later, the defense learned through a third party that the "Mr. Samuel A. Adams" was not an ordinary citizen, but an employee of the CIA.

Adams furnished the defense with an affidavit stating that he had read a *New York Times* account of the trial in which Lieutenant General William De Puy testified that one of the volumes of the Pentagon papers made public by Ellsberg and Russo was "invaluable" to Hanoi. The general said it cited figures about North Vietnamese troop strength and by the accuracy of the figures revealed to Hanoi the extent and effectiveness of U. S. intelligence operations.

"To them, this might be the best piece of military intelligence they ever had," the general had solemnly testified.

Adams is in a position to testify differently.

He had conducted research for the CIA on "our adversary in Vietnam" from 1965 to 1972. Last December he presented his superiors with evidence that the Army had deliberately fabricated North Vietnamese troop numbers at the time of the Tet offensive.

On learning that General DePuy had testified that Ellsberg and Russo had damaged U. S. defense by making these figures public, Adams asked his superiors to forward his findings to the Justice Department. The CIA didn't do so until he indicated that if they didn't, he would. His report was then given to the Justice Department, which gave it to its prosecutor, Nissen. He tried to ditch it with his "Mr. Samuel A. Adams" ploy.

Earlier, the defense smoked out the fact that the Pentagon had ordered special studies of the effect on "national security" of the release of the Pentagon papers.

The Defense and Justice departments tried to suppress those reports when

they read the findings of their own staff workers that the material was virtually all in the public domain when the Pentagon papers appeared. (One allegedly "highly sensitive" report Ellsberg and Russo were charged with revealing is available for \$6.50 from the Government Printing Office.)

Judge Matt Byrne has stubbornly denied defense motions to dismiss the indictment on the basis of the government's violations of the law and its contempt of court orders.

However, if a pending motion for a directed verdict of acquittal is not granted, the defense will begin presentation of its case substantially strengthened by the revelations of government duplicity.

Equally decisive, it should already be clear to the jurors that the evidence the government tried to suppress confirms that Ellsberg and Russo are being prosecuted not for information they made available to Hanoi but information they made available to the American people.

Defy crackdown by regime

Student protests shake Greece

From Intercontinental Press

There would seem to be no reason why an officer of the tank corps should be present at a medical school faculty meeting called to choose a new professor of psychiatry. But reason or not, in Greece it happens. And the students, who have never showed signs of being happy about it, appear now to be prepared to do something about it.

A week of university protest during early February was capped February 16 by a police assault on demonstrators in downtown Athens.

But neither that show of government force, nor the regime's new tactic of drafting dissident students, nor the trial of eleven student leaders arrested during the first wave of demonstrations has broken the student movement.

On February 21 about 2,000 Athens University students staged a sit-in at the university's law school. The action, held to demand an end to government intervention at the university and repeal of the February 12 decree providing for drafting antigovernment students, followed a rally of more than 5,000 students.

Crowds of sympathetic students from

A demonstration against the repression in Greece and against U.S. support to the dictatorship there has been called by the United Hellenic Front for 12:00 noon Saturday, March 3. The demonstration will take place in front of the U.S. mission to the United Nations at First Avenue and 44 Street in New York City. According to a spokesman for the group, two students were beaten to death by police in Salonica Feb. 24.

schools all over Athens gathered outside the law school, shouting "We want academic freedom!" and "We want our boys back," a reference to more than one hundred students who have been drafted under the new regulation.

The government tried to convince



Student demonstrations in Athens

Der Spiegel

the students that the draft decree was for their own good. An official statement explained that military service would help the students "mature," so that "they could approach their studies with a heightened sense of responsibility."

The students did not agree. Demonstrations against the decree reportedly continued through February 24.

Some university officials have begun to make minimal concessions in an effort to quiet the students. At the Panteios School of Political Science and Economics, the administration agreed to student representation, but without vote, at meetings of the ruling body. Also, the students were granted a voting representative on the disciplinary committee.

The trial of eleven students who had been arrested February 14 when police broke up a student meeting at the Athens Polytechnic Institute did not go as the regime had planned. The students were charged with "insulting the authorities."

Defense witnesses at a February 18 hearing before a three-judge civilian court testified that the police attack on the meeting violated guarantees that had been given by the police commander that the students would

be allowed to leave peacefully.

About three dozen former cabinet ministers, retired generals, and professors testified in support of the students.

On February 19, eight of the defendants were given suspended sentences ranging from eight to eleven months. Three defendants were acquitted outright. The presiding judge justified this "leniency" by expressing the "hope that one day they will render service to society."

Other opponents of the dictatorship have not fared as well. On January 20, a special military court sentenced retired Lieutenant Colonel Anastasios Minis, a hero of the Greek resistance to the Nazi occupation, to nine years and eight months in prison. Dr. Stefanos Pandelakis, a well-known pediatrician, was condemned to seven years and eight months in prison. They were accused of founding AAA (Anti-stasis, Apeleutherosis, Anexartesi—Resistance, Liberation, Independence), an opposition group that has claimed credit for a number of symbolic bombings in Athens.

Minis and Pandelakis charged that they signed confessions under torture, the February 21 *New York Times* reported.

March 8 pickets to condemn Argentine repression

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, Feb. 26—National support is continuing to grow for the March 8 demonstrations against political repression in Argentina. The actions will take place on the eve of the Argentine elections, when the Lanusse regime will be most sensitive to international protests.

So far picket lines have been set for New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Atlanta, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, and Washington, D.C. On March 9 a protest meeting will take place in Minneapolis. On March 10 protesters will picket the office of an Argentine shipping company in Portland, Ore.

To date some 30 groups have endorsed the New York action, initiated by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Some of the New York endorsers include: Young Workers Liberation League, Young Socialist Alliance, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Puerto Rican Independence Party, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party, LUCHA, El Comité, and Coalición de Latinoamericanos y Amigos de Latinoamérica.

Also, Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People, El Comité pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana, Fortune Society, North American Congress on Latin America, Asian Americans for Action, Black Panther Party, and Socialist Workers Party.

The demonstration is being called around demands to end the state of siege in Argentina, to repeal the repressive laws there, and to free all Argentine political prisoners.

Argentina has been ruled under a state of siege almost continuously since 1955. A long list of military dictators have done away with many democratic rights.

The repressive laws include legislation creating a special court to deal with political prisoners, providing for full participation by the armed forces in an "antisubversive" campaign, and restoring the death penalty.

It is estimated that there are at least 1,200 political prisoners in Argentina. Some have been illegally abducted, and their families don't know where they are. Many are held without formal charges or trials.

Torture is frequent. Most torture is done with highly sophisticated electrical devices that don't leave visible marks on the body, techniques developed in the United States.

For further information about these actions contact the national office of USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011 or call (212) 691-2880.

SWP speaking tours on Vietnam

FEB. 26—Three socialist antiwar activists have launched national tours to speak on "Vietnam and Nixon's World Strategy."

The three are leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Their talks center on the questions "Is the U.S. really out?" "Is the struggle in Vietnam over?" and "What has been the role of Moscow

tion Day antiwar march in Washington. A leading figure in the antiwar movement since 1965, Stapleton served as a national staff member of the Student Mobilization Committee and as a national staff coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. He is the author of the pamphlet *Making Richard Nixon Perfectly Clear*.

Brandeis, the University of Massachusetts, Wellesley, Tufts, and other schools before traveling to New York for more engagements.

In 1965 Morrison helped found the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam. He later helped organize Afro-Americans to End the War in Vietnam and the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union. Morrison writes for *The Militant*, and has coauthored the pamphlets *The Black Uprisings*, *Attica: Why Prisoners are Rebelling*, and *Black Liberation and Political Power*.

The third speaker is Wendy Reissner, a member of the national coordinating committee and the steering committee of the National Peace Action Coalition. In the fall of 1972, Reissner traveled to Europe to discuss building international antiwar actions with leaders of the antiwar movements in other countries. She will be speaking to meetings in the Midwest and in Washington, D.C.

VIEWPOINT, a national speaker's bureau, is arranging the tours of all three speakers. To bring a speaker to your area, contact VIEWPOINT, P.O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 255-9229.



Wendy Reissner



Syd Stapleton



Derrick Morrison

and Peking?" They will address campus and high school audiences and forums, and take part in debates on the meaning of the Vietnam accords.

Syd Stapleton was a central organizer of the 100,000-strong Inaugura-

He is currently speaking in Philadelphia and will later tour the West Coast and the Southwest.

Derrick Morrison, a Black Marxist journalist, has begun his speaking tour in New England. Morrison will talk to groups at Boston University,

Israel forced to admit 'error'

Attack on airliner provokes world outcry

By TONY THOMAS

FEB. 27—On the afternoon of Feb. 21, the Israeli air force, using U.S.-supplied Phantom jets, was successful in killing 106 defenseless passengers aboard a Libyan airliner. The plane was shot down over the Israeli-occupied Sinai Peninsula, a part of Egypt.

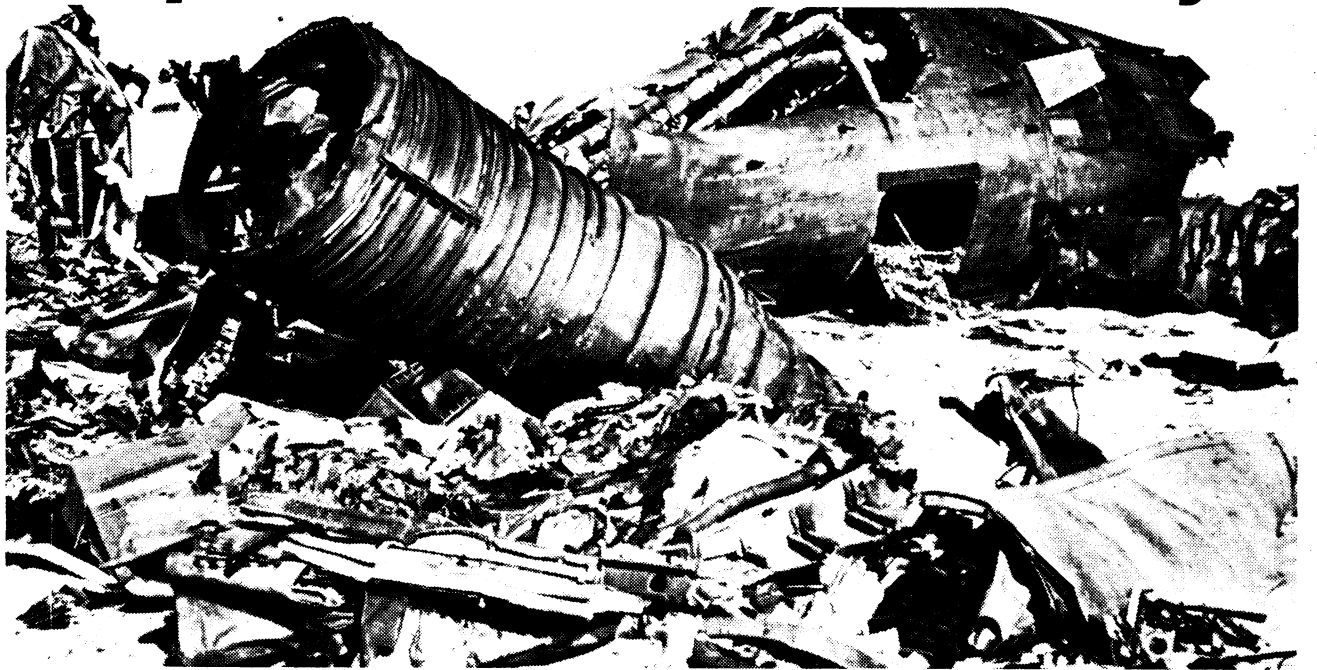
The airliner was a regularly scheduled, completely unarmed, Boeing 727 flying from Benghazi, Libya, to Cairo. The flight apparently missed Cairo by a wide margin. Bad weather conditions and difficulties with the navigational equipment are thought to be the reasons for this.

The Israeli jets approached the plane, allegedly giving it "hand signals" to land. Both Israeli and Egyptian sources have made it clear that the plane's crew didn't understand the signals, and, until seconds before they were shot down, believed they were being accompanied by Egyptian aircraft.

When the Libyan plane was only 12 miles (one minute flying time) from the Suez Canal, going toward Egypt, the Israelis shot the plane down. At last report, seven of the 113 aboard were in Israeli hospitals. The rest were killed.

Israeli officials tried to justify shooting down the airliner by referring to "terrorist" danger. Israeli transport minister Shimon Peres was quoted in the Feb. 22 *New York Times* as saying, "How could we guarantee that it wasn't a kamikaze plane loaded with explosives headed for an Israeli city?" The *Times* reported Peres "added that several weeks ago Israel had received a report that Palestinian guerrillas were planning to carry out such a suicide mission by crashing a hijacked jetliner into Tel Aviv."

Top Israeli officers including Chief of Staff Lieu-



Wreckage of Libyan airliner

He saw "a warehouse whose concrete-slab roof had caved in on high stacks of bags of flour. . . .

"There was also heavy damage to two classrooms of a large school. Children wandered through the wreckage, picking up notebooks."

The Zionist government claimed the reason for the attack on Lebanon was the danger of Palestinian operations to Israel. But as *Time* reported, "Certainly Israel has had little difficulty with Arab guerrillas at home in recent months; the Syrian border has been neutralized by heavy Israeli air and artillery strikes, and the Lebanese have apparently persuaded the fedayeen to move back from positions near Mount Hermon in order to avoid Israeli reprisals in that area."

Apparently the Israeli government feels that it is not sufficient to force the Lebanese and Syrian regimes to limit the access of the Palestinian freedom-fighters to their homeland. The Israeli rulers are determined to demonstrate to the Arabs and to the rest of the world that they will not budge from their positions in Arab lands and they will not relinquish their role as a proimperialist police power in the Middle East.

The explosion of world revulsion after the attack on the airliner did, however, force the Israelis to concede that the decision to bring down the plane was "mistaken."

On Feb. 24, according to a dispatch in the *New York Times*, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan admitted that Israel had made an "error of judgment." He then stated that Israel would refuse to pay compensation to the families of the dead because this would be an admission of guilt. "In this case we erred—under the most difficult of circumstances—but that does not put us on the guilty side," Dayan said.

However, the next day Israel reversed itself and offered to pay compensation. According to the *Times*, the government claimed that the payments would be for "humanitarian considerations," and the decision in no way involved acceptance of Israeli responsibility for the murder of the 106 innocent passengers.

This turnabout was motivated by the fear that the world outcry against its actions would weaken Israel's position just at the time when the Soviet Union and the United States seemed to be moving quickly toward imposing a "settlement" on the Middle East, in the wake of the Vietnam and Laos cease-fire agreements.

The main threat to the settlement posed by these actions is that it would have put the Arab masses in a more militantly anti-Zionist mood that would make them less tolerant of concessions to Israel by the Arab capitalist regimes.

This was borne out by the events surrounding the funerals of the airliner victims in Cairo, Egypt, and Benghazi, Libya.

Henry Tanner, reporting from Cairo Feb. 24 in the *New York Times*, described the scene at the Cairo funeral on that day:

"Contrary to what many Cairo residents had expected, the Government decided against a state funeral or collective ceremony. Students who started to shout political slogans at one of the ceremonies stopped quickly after an argument with police officers."

The students, who were later joined by hundreds of mourners, marched through the main thoroughfares of Cairo shouting such demands as "We want war against Israel," "Revenge, revenge Sadat," and "We want arms, Sadat." Egypt-

tian President Anwar el-Sadat recently repressed massive student demonstrations demanding more democratic rights and a more militant attitude toward Israel.

A Feb. 26 Reuters dispatch describes a similar scene at the Feb. 26 funeral for the Libyan victims held at Benghazi. The crowd surged toward Libyan chief of state Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi, shouting "Revenge, Qaddafi! Revenge, Qaddafi," "Down with imperialists!" and "Down with Zionists." Reuters reported, "The Benghazi services were interrupted as club-swinging police charged and beat back the surging crowds."

It is fear of this type of reaction, which might go beyond the control of the Arab regimes, that led both Moscow and Washington to criticize Israel's actions.

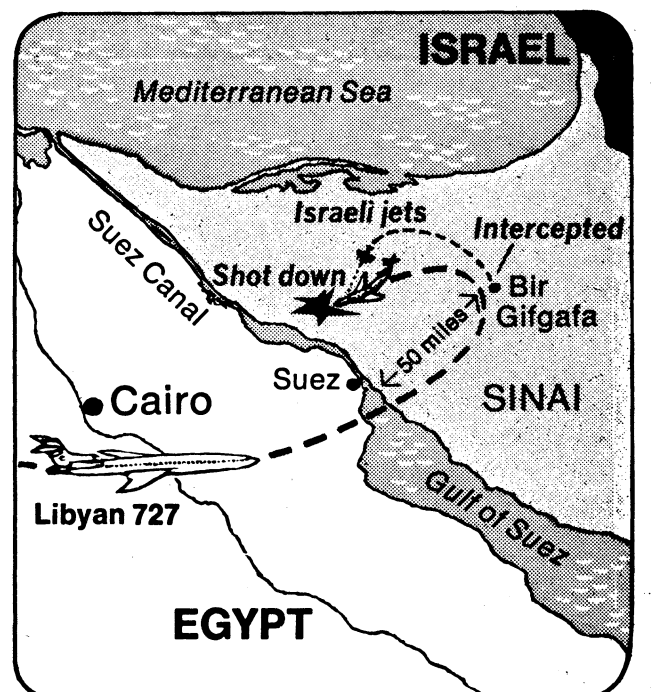
According to a report from Moscow in the Feb. 23 *New York Times*, the Soviet bureaucrats had attacked the Israeli actions for aiming at "blocking moves toward a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute. . . .

"But neither the Soviet press nor Soviet officials gave any immediate indication of how the incident would affect diplomatic moves already under way toward a Middle East settlement."

Bernard Gwertzman, writing in the same issue of the *Times*, reported that the Nixon administration was trying "to keep alive the possibility of starting an Israeli-Arab dialogue toward peace despite the heightened tensions" caused by the downing of the Libyan plane.

Similarly, Golda Meir, upon her arrival in Washington to start a 10-day visit to the U.S. on Feb. 26, "expressed hope that the Israeli downing of a Libyan airliner in which 106 were killed last week—she repeatedly described it as a tragedy—would not interfere with any discussions on the Middle East," according to the Feb. 27 *Times*.

However, the actions taken by the Zionists in Lebanon and Sinai, rather than Golda Meir's crocodile tears about the "tragedy," give the true picture of the intentions of Israel and her imperialist backers. They are signs that the settlement Moscow and Washington are preparing to impose on the Middle East with the cooperation of Israel and the Arab regimes will be at the expense of the Arab peoples.



Andrew Pulley hits Israeli terrorism

The following are excerpts from a statement issued Feb. 23 by Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president in the 1972 elections.

"... In contrast to the hue and cry raised by the U.S. government after the death of 11 Israeli athletes at the Olympics last September, the Nixon administration has confined its response to routine condolences to Libya and Egypt.

"At first Israeli officials tried to justify the shooting down of the airliner with the argument that the plane may have been attempting a 'spectacular act of terror.'

"Later Israeli Defense Minister Dayan claimed the attack on the plane was justifiable as 'military' precaution and that there was 'no political significance whatsoever' to the incident.

"This is a lie. The truth is that the downing of the Libyan plane was a deliberate attempt to show that no Arab plane could violate Israeli-held air space. It is part of the racist campaign of the Zionist state to terrorize all Arabs into accepting the conquest of their lands.

"Washington shares responsibility for this crime. It is the U.S. government that has armed and backed Israeli terror, using the Zionist state as a stronghold for imperialism in the Middle East.

"The Young Socialist Alliance urges all young people to condemn this Israeli attack and demand that the U.S. government halt all military sales and aid to Israel."

tenant General David Elazar and Air Force commander Mordechai Hod, announced they approved shooting down the airliner and had been consulted before it was done.

The downing of the civilian airliner was the second terrorist act carried out by Israel that day. Twelve hours earlier, Israelis had raided the Nahr al Bared and Baddawi refugee camps in northern Lebanon, nearly 100 miles from Israel. Commandos, landing by helicopter and ship, attacked the camps, killing what they claimed were "62 guerrillas."

The March 5 *Time* magazine reports that on the "next day, Lebanese authorities showed newsmen what they said were schoolrooms and clinics and said that 31 people—mainly civilians—had been killed."

Juan de Onis, writing in the Feb. 22 *New York Times*, gives a further description of the scene after the Israeli raid on the "terrorist" refugee camp.

Phase 3 inflation

Under Phase 3 of Nixon's New Economic Policy, government controls have been proclaimed "voluntary." This means unions are expected not to ask for wage increases larger than the federal "voluntary" guidelines, and employers are supposedly not to raise prices. In this way, the administration pretends, the problem of inflation will be solved.

What this "voluntary" system means for working people was made plain when Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz announced Feb. 20 that food prices had risen between 2 and 3 percent in January, the largest one month rise in 21 years. If food prices were to continue rising at the January rate, consumers would be paying up to one-third more for their food by the end of 1973.

Secretary Butz warned the press against projecting such a sharp increase. "The obvious purpose of someone who writes a story is to get it printed," he said. "They can't get it printed unless they have something sensational."

Maybe Butz, who can eat rather well on his \$60,000 salary, finds nothing "sensational" about the fact that since Phase 1, the average price of hamburger has gone from 69 cents a pound to 78 cents, the price of a half gallon of milk from 59 cents to 74 cents, and the cost of a dozen eggs from 51 cents to 74 cents.

But for working people that's pretty "sensational" news at the supermarket, because Nixon has been able to depend on union bureaucrats and employers to "voluntarily" accept controls on wages.

It's just like the old Army system of volunteers. The lieutenant and his top sergeants volunteer for the privates. And just in case workers don't "voluntarily" go along with these attacks on their living standard, the government has machinery to back up its control of wages. This machinery is authorized by the Economic Stabilization Act (ESA), which is up for renewal in Congress April 30. But there is no government machinery to prevent landlords and bankers and corporate management from raising rents, interest rates, and prices. They are expected to "voluntarily" hold prices in check. Government officials—themselves bankers, real estate sharks, and corporate executives—pass out good advice about how to dodge controls of any kind that may limit profits.

At least one knowledgeable banker is cautioning against an increase in interest rates *until after* Congress extends ESA. Robert Mayo, Nixon's former budget director and now president of the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank, recently told fellow bankers to "play it cool for the next couple of months." By that time the danger that Congress may make interest-rate controls mandatory under ESA will be over.

The landlords are doing the same thing. Robert Ross of San Antonio, Texas, is legislative chairman of the National Apartment Association. In a letter to 30,000 rent hogs, Ross offers the following advice: "For the sake of the industry, let us not give Congress the excuse to impose rent controls in their consideration of the extension of economic stabilization controls. We have lived with this matter for the past 18 months. It behooves us to be patient another two months. If at all possible postpone your rent increases until Congress has acted on extension. Let us not do anything that we will be sorry for later."

Landlords, bankers, and employers never volunteer anything that goes against their interests. Neither should working people. One step in the direction of protecting real wages against inflation would be for the unions to demand cost-of-living escalator clauses in their contracts, guaranteeing wage boosts pegged to price increases.

Another step would be to put into action the idea represented by Operation Price Watch, a plan carried out to a limited extent by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) following the introduction of Phase 1 controls. AFSCME members investigated and exposed stores that illegally raised prices.

Such a move would be an important step toward organizing working people to effectively monitor and control prices. Committees based on the unions and consumer groups, with the power to regulate prices, are needed to stop inflation. As experience shows, the government won't do it.

Malcolm X

Having read Peter Goldman's new book, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*, and George Breitman's criticism of that book, especially its handling of Malcolm's political views, I would like to ask why Breitman does not mention the statement of Malcolm's widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, "Malcolm was *not* a socialist," on page 408 of Goldman's book.
N. P.
New York City

In reply—Goldman says that he tried to interview Betty Shabazz for his book but she refused, and that in the course of their conversations she told him "firmly" that "Malcolm was *not* a socialist." I did not comment on this remark because its context was not given. In any case, the question in dispute between Goldman and me is not whether Malcolm *was* a socialist but whether he *was becoming* a socialist in his last year. I think all the evidence—in Goldman's book as well as my *Last Year of Malcolm X*—clearly establishes Malcolm was becoming a socialist. On the other hand I have never said Malcolm was (had become) a socialist, and I can't think of anyone who has said so. Consequently the statement attributed to Betty Shabazz, whatever its real context was, is not really pertinent to the question in dispute between Goldman and me.
George Breitman
New York, N. Y.

Put off

I am put off by what you profess in your article "Why the Catholic Church hierarchy opposes women's right to abortion."

You say any woman has a right to an abortion. Who says that? Someone on some sacred throne? No one on earth has a right to anything unless they are willing to work for it, and then it's just a reward for their efforts.

A little story (true, in fact): Once there was a person who was habitually violent with anyone he met. After much investigation, a psychologist determined that the root of all the problems was that his mother, having an unwanted pregnancy, constantly beat her stomach and hence the fetus out of hatred for the coming child and the long-gone father.

This is not to say that an abortion would have been better, but that life begins not at birth, but before.

Ronald Blaha
Morristown, N. J.

Catholic Church

Evelyn Reed's article "Why the Catholic Church hierarchy opposes women's right to abortion" (*Militant*, Feb. 16) doesn't explain why the Church, as distinguished from the U. S. ruling class represented on the Supreme Court, refuses to back down on this issue.

Perhaps she thought it obvious, that the older establishment institutions can be expected to resist progress more. That is true, but the connection is deeper.

The Church had abortion declared a crime from the first moment it got a hold on temporal power, that is, when it converted the Roman Emperor Constantine.

Second, the Church was a major ideological force behind the development of European feudalism, the system that preceded and prepared the way for capitalism. This was a social system with a pyramid of power and inequality extending in steps from the Pope at the top all the way to women and children at the bottom.

A vital element of feudalism was inheritance of property and the status of serfdom, the direct forerunners of today's property-holding and property-less social conditions. Inheritance is unthinkable without enforced monogamy, and enforced monogamy seems to be unthinkable without male supremacy.

The abortion victory is thus a dent in the system of submission that underlies the property-oriented culture the Church helped to create.

Jan Garrett
Minneapolis, Minn.

Maligned the Pope

In view of *The Militant's* stand on the issue of abortion, cancel my subscription now! Your article of Feb. 16 ["Why the Catholic Church hierarchy opposes women's right to abortion"] maligned an agent of the living God, i. e., His Holiness the Pope.

D. M.
Rockford, Ill.

'World Outlook'

I hope you stick with the newsprint paper for "World Outlook." *The Militant* seems better integrated and is a more impressive product with just one type of paper. Also, I think it would be a good idea if you started numbering "World Outlook" as an integral part of *The Militant*.

D. G.
Logan, Utah

Too intellectual

I consider *The Militant* a good paper and as a whole agree with it on issues. My only criticism would be that the newspaper seems to be too intellectual. Since *The Militant* is published in the interests of the working people, I feel that it should be presented in a more "common" way.

K. W.
Huntington, W. Va.

London-fried chicken

Science has conquered another hurdle. In this case it is a British achievement, for which I am sure they are justly proud.

It seems that chickens raised on wire mesh and a diet of antibiotics and hormones are plump and good-looking. But they have one serious drawback. They don't taste like chickens that grandmother cooked. Those were the old primitive types that scratched on the ground and lived off a diet of worms, bugs, and grasses.

That's where science comes in. The British have now developed a flavoring, made to be sure only of organic enzymes and yeast and a few other wholesome ingredients. When rubbed on the plucked chicken, it brings back that good old chicken flavor.

But there are still more chal-



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

lenges. The scientists are working on new flavors—real turkey, real lamb, and so on. If the British entrepreneurs would take my advice (which they won't), it would be to begin the manufacture of these products with their employees' welfare in mind. Otherwise they might bite into some luscious-looking turkey one day and find its tastes like a leg of lamb.

Bob Chester
San Francisco, Calif.

Bigger pictures

I am a new Socialist-Revolutionary and delighted to have found something in life which has meaning (I am 47 years old).

What I am writing about is pictures in *The Militant*. First because I believe 100 percent in *The Militant*, and second because I happen to be an excellent salesperson. I feel it's important to put large pictures on the front page and also one of a different subject on the back page. That way we can have both a front and a back to show while selling.

B. M.
Bellevue, Wash.

Mine Workers

I thought the National Picket Line column on the mine workers (*Militant*, Feb. 16) was very good. You might want to mention in a future column that readers interested in following developments in the United Mine Workers can get a year's subscription to the *UMW Journal* for \$1. Their address is 1437 K St. N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005.

A. C.
Washington, D. C.

Heroin

I disagree with the editorial in the Feb. 16 *Militant*, "Rocky's drug bill." In it, you say the solution to the problem of drugs is to change social conditions. While that may be true, I think the solution to drugs is to legalize heroin and to make it available to addicts free of charge.

If drugs were legalized and made readily available, it would reduce crime 50 percent. A heroin addict wouldn't have to steal to support his habit. Also, it would stop the drug pusher because there would be no profit in selling drugs if they were available free.

T. L.

Bronx, N. Y.

Anti-Israeli

Having read *The Militant* for about a year I note that you do take an anti-Israeli stand. Your reports from the Near East are at best thinly disguised editorializing, with an obvious and total pro-Arab bias. In Orwellian fashion you mask your anti-Semitism by naming it anti-Zionism.

L. A.
New York, N. Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Nixon show at Bal Harbour

When the AFL-CIO Executive Council convened its midwinter meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., Feb. 19, Nixon was there with the opening act. He performed for a closed session of the 35-member council and 35 other union bureaucrats who were present as invited guests. He did not come to entertain them, but to woo them. According to all accounts, he succeeded remarkably well in both respects.

Nixon wants the trade-union bureaucracy to take responsibility for raising productivity in U. S. industry, for a trade war against competitive foreign industries, for reducing the standard of living of the working class in this country, and for government restrictions on the right to strike.

What he offered was not new, again "the opportunity to serve." Union bureaucrats are often assigned government dirty work under the guise of "serving the Nation," only to be cast aside when the job is done. This happened to the whole gang of them after World War II. They served faithfully to hold down wages and enforce the no-strike pledge during the war, when the employers and the government needed their services. After the war their reward was the Taft-Hartley law and the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, which restricted the growth of the union movement and curbed the power of the bureaucrats. Some of those still around, including AFL-CIO President George Meany, got the treatment and bear the scars.

Time is the great healer. There is a new crop of labor skates awaiting the call of duty. Again the employing class is in deep trouble. And Nixon has already posted what is coming to be accepted as a certain surety of good intentions.

The appointment of Peter Brennan, a minor figure in the AFL-CIO hierarchy, to Nixon's cabinet as secretary of labor lends credibility to the prospect of participating in government decisions. It now appears to many anxious labor statesmen that the employing class is ready to listen to what they have to say and will value their services.

What Nixon asks of them in the short run is to support his wage control machinery when the Economic Stabilization Act comes before Congress for renewal April 30. Also to back off from their commitment to the Burke-Hartke tariff bill, which is pending in Congress.

Fishing for collaboration on both issues—and extension of his powers to control wages and new legislation empowering him, not Congress, to impose

trade quotas—Nixon urges the union bureaucracy to designate representatives to serve at the assistant secretary level in the departments of Defense, Housing and Urban Development, and Commerce.

They won't be making any basic decisions in these high offices, any more than Brennan as secretary of labor will be running the Labor Department. But it will look like they are in positions of command, and they will think they are unless they try to do something for the workers they profess to represent, which is unlikely.

Nixon's blandishments are paying off. Led by Meany, AFL-CIO officials have rejoined UAW President Leonard Woodcock on the Productivity Council, lending their support to speedup in U. S. industry. They all dutifully marched back to their wage-control posts as members of the Labor-Management Advisory Committee of the Cost of Living Council under Phase 3 of the New Economic Policy.

The two largest unions, Teamsters and Auto Workers, are not AFL-CIO affiliates. But the top officials of both are deep in the mire of government controls.

Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons has been the most subservient to Nixon. "We in the Teamsters pledged our cooperation when Phase 1 was announced [Aug. 15, 1971]. We kept that commitment, as we did during Phase 2, and we will cooperate during the tenure of Phase 3," he says. When Phase 3 was announced, Jan. 11, he calmly assured everyone, "The president is serious in his determination to break the back of inflation. This is clearly demonstrated in his most recent efforts to curb the rapid increase in food prices." Of course, that was before the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced the January jump of 2.3 percent in retail food prices, the highest one-month increase ever.

Meany knew something about this because Nixon told the AFL-CIO Executive Council in advance (he could hardly hide the fact) that food prices are going up and will go higher. Maybe he didn't tell them how high. Anyway, Meany emerged from the closed-door session to proclaim Nixon "a friend of all the American people."

A lot of union members will be asking Meany before next summer if his friend Nixon is their friend, and most of them already know the answer. That makes it hard for the labor fakers. When union members stop paying attention to them, they won't be of much use to Nixon either.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas

Boycott Farah slacks!

Word of the strike by Chicano workers against Farah Manufacturing plants in El Paso is spreading all over the country, as is the boycott of Farah slacks. But many strike supporters may be wondering just what the facts are, and how to convince people to support the strike and not buy those snazzy Farah pants.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America recently placed an ad in the *Los Angeles Times* that provides useful ammunition for strike supporters. The ad reprints a letter entitled "From the Bishop of El Paso to the Catholic Bishops of the United States." In it, S.M. Metzger, bishop of El Paso, outlines the basic facts about the strike and explains why justice is on the side of the Chicano workers.

First, he points out, Farah refuses to concede the right of the workers to even join a union and bargain collectively. Farah says conditions are good and that the workers don't need a union. Yet they do everything possible to block elections where the workers can decide for themselves. If all is so ideal as the company proclaims, asks Metzger, why should they fear an election?

Workers say they are being treated as production machines and not as human beings. Production quotas are set so high no one can reach them. If you fail to meet your quota, you cannot get a raise, and what's more you are liable to be fired.

Wages increase only when and if the company wants. Women also protested that the maternity benefits were far from adequate and that when they returned to work after having a baby, they would lose

their position on the pay scale and have to start as beginners.

In short, there is no job security, and the speedup is murder.

Farah puts out an in-plant brochure entitled "Your Retirement Benefits." It states that "this is a total monthly retirement income of \$234.50." However, Farah pays only \$20 a month; the rest is what they assume you will receive from Social Security. Nothing is said as to what the retirement age is or how many years with the company are required in order to qualify for benefits.

Metzger adds that according to a report by the local chamber of commerce, 15,000 workers are employed in El Paso's main industry—clothing manufacturing. Sales volume totals \$220-million annually. Unionized workers at other companies make about \$102 a week.

But the average worker at Farah, one of the biggest, takes home only \$69 a week—about \$3,500 a year. This is what they call a "living" wage.

There should be negotiated wage increases according to a definite schedule, recommends Metzger. There should be better maternity insurance and negotiated leaves for illness, and workers should be able to return to their same jobs and same rate of pay.

He advocates that bishops support the boycott.

It is a good sign for the Farah struggle that it has received support from union officials, liberal politicians, and part of the Catholic hierarchy.

We can use that support in spreading the truth about the Farah strike.



The Great Society

Harry Ring



Safeway unsafe—The Interfaith Committee to Aid Farm Workers has brought a class-action suit against Safeway for selling bug-infested health food cookies. The committee recently acted against the chain for putting as much fat in its "lean" ground meat as in the "regular." Maybe the cookies are molding on Safeway shelves because health-minded people are supporting the boycott of the chain, a principal buyer of scab lettuce and grapes.

Soul-savers—Supporting a bill to outlaw boycotts of farm products and seafood, Maryland State Senator Peter Bozick, a Catholic, assailed church officials who opposed the measure. He advised those who support pro-union boycotts to "stop worrying about moral and social issues and save some souls." Added Senator Joseph Stazak: "We wouldn't have as

much trouble if you went out and taught the Ten Commandments, which I think would help this country." The first is "Thou shalt not resist oppression," right?

Pure bologna—The American Meat Institute urged the government to drop a slated regulation that franks and luncheon meats containing such animal by-products as spleen and snouts be labeled "imitation." The hot dog and baloney people said this would deprive the nation of some 200 million pounds of wholesome, nutritious food. Not to speak of the corresponding loss of fat, water, and chemicals.

Progress report—A bill has been introduced in the California legislature to abolish the requirement that a woman obtain her husband's consent before entering into a transaction with security brokers.



Morality dep't—California Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, a real wit, told a youth gathering that the best birth-control measure was an "aspirin held firmly between the knees." He said that "moral" considerations compelled him to support Governor Reagan's veto of a bill to make contraceptives available to women under 18 without parental consent.

Model sewer inspectors—Three officials of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission billed the commission for a trip they took to the Los Angeles Super Bowl game while on an official inspection tour of a model sewage plant in northern California. Engineer James Stapp explained: "I make no effort to separate my personal expense from my business expense because I'm not concerned with the financial end of it." Besides, it all comes from the same sewer.

Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



The baby market

Some enterprising lawyers and other profiteers are making a fast buck by selling babies.

The "dignified" term for their business is "private adoption," but there is very little that is dignified about the way these operators function. Judy Klemesrud described the baby market in an article in the Feb. 20 *New York Times*.

With the lower birth rate and more single women deciding to keep their babies, fewer children are up for adoption than in the past. The estimated 60,000 children in adoption agencies now are the "hard to place" cases, a euphemism for Black, crippled, or older children.

Some people have figured out that they can make a lot of money if they get a corner on the few white babies that are available for adoption.

The system works two ways:

The legal way is called the "gray market." A couple desiring a child hires a lawyer to arrange the adoption. This couple then pays all the legal fees, including a generous chunk for the lawyer, as well as the medical costs incurred when the baby was born. The average price is \$10,000, according to Klemesrud, but it may go as high as \$25,000.

The "black market" way skirts the whole legal side and simply exchanges a baby for money. Often this procedure involves forging birth certificates or some other illegal practice.

Are these adoption lawyers concerned about helping a woman who is unable to raise her child and wants to see him or her get a decent home? Are they trying to help a couple who always wanted a child but were unable to have one? No chance. The baby profiteers are simply out for the highest bidder, and they have no scruples about how they find the babies, either. Klemesrud quoted Joseph Reid, executive director of the Child Welfare League, who described some of these practices:

"These profiteers are using any method they can, including hiring someone on a campus to keep an eye out for pregnant girls, hiring someone to watch maternity homes for new arrivals—and even accosting doctors, lawyers and social workers for the names of pregnant girls."

One lawyer mentioned by Klemesrud "deals" in German and Austrian women who are pregnant. He flies them to New York when they are in their ninth month. They have the baby and fly back.

Another lawyer is so crude that he presents prospective customers with photographs of men and women, asking them to choose which combination they want to "make the baby."

The baby market is a sickening example of the way human beings become commodities in capitalist society. The value of a baby is determined in dollars and cents, the exact price depending on race, age, sex, and physical appearance; the adopting parents are chosen by the size of their wallets. And the pregnant woman is regarded as a breeder and nothing else.

Marx explained this process in the *Communist Manifesto*. The bourgeoisie, he wrote, "has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.'"

There will always be a baby market as long as the welfare of each child depends on the poverty or wealth of an individual family unit, or on the miserable orphanages that pass for "homes" in this society. A socialist society would do away with the economic bonds that warp human relationships by making the love and care of children the responsibility of society as a whole.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'Our man in South Africa'

Although overshadowed by news accounts in the U.S. of strikes by Black South African workers at the beginning of February, a lesser event was making headlines in South Africa. The news was the arrival in South Africa of a new U.S. diplomat—James Baker, a Black man.

Baker was sent to fill the number two spot in the U.S. embassy. But his arrival and presence is causing considerable controversy.

Both the U.S. and South African governments are trying to treat the assignment as "routine," but Baker's presence is causing headaches for many of South Africa's leaders. They think, and rightly so, that any problems with his tour of duty will be an embarrassment to the Nixon administration. And this must be avoided, they think, because they haven't enjoyed such good relations with an American president since Eisenhower.

Baker's appointment as a U.S. diplomat is so ironic because 17 million people of his color in South Africa are daily oppressed by 3.5 million whites—with the generous help of U.S. investments. Under this oppression, the apartheid system forcibly segregates Blacks from whites in every aspect.

Donald McHenry, writing in the Feb. 10 Johannesburg *Star*, questions what lies ahead for Baker. "After he left the international section of Jan Smuts Airport, the only public place in SA where Black and White South Africans can sit at the same bar or use the same rest room, what kind of reception awaits James Baker?"

Apparently to help ease them through the problem, South Africa is concentrating on security and publicity. McHenry writes, "Baker will find South Africa determined to use its extensive bureaucratic police apparatus to reduce the likelihood of 'incidents.' This may seem contrary to the 'routine' nature of Baker's assignment and to South Africa's announced intention to treat him no differently than any other diplomat. . . ."

"Initially, at least, a visit to the dentist, doctor, or barber, an evening at a cinema or restaurant, or even a bus ride must be preceded by careful planning." But, he pointed out, "even the most thorough planning will not avoid those incidents which result from the activities of daily life."

Baker, McHenry explains, will be treated to many of the social amenities due others of his rank, such as the privilege of using "white only" facilities. Al-

so, "Baker's presence at an event on the White cocktail and dinner-party circuit may be the status symbol of the new social season. . . ."

"'How do you find us?' will be the constant question. . . ."

McHenry admits, "There will be awkward but well-meant invitations from Whites who have never spoken to a Black in other than a master-servant relationship and who, having jumped the hurdle, are then anxious to expose their children to Baker. . . ."

He concludes, "not even the much-vaunted detachment of the professional diplomat will prepare Baker for the feeling of helplessness he will experience when Black adults run at his side to get a glimpse of him. . . ."

McHenry is correct. Baker is this government's answer to the slave-like conditions in South Africa, which many Black workers recently struck against. While the appointment may provide new social circles and personal advancement for Baker, it will do nothing to advance the social, economic, and political status of the African majority.

Cocktail parties just won't eliminate apartheid.

I.F. Stone's prediction: 'A third Indochina war'

By DAVE FRANKEL

The March 8 issue of the *New York Review of Books* carries an analysis of the situation in Vietnam and of the cease-fire agreement by I.F. Stone, a prominent journalist and longtime opponent of the war in Southeast Asia. Stone's article, entitled "Toward a Third Indochina War," represents the continuation of an analysis he had made of the proposed nine-point treaty last fall.

That article, called "A Bad Deal That May Not Work," exposed the role of Moscow and Peking in trying to force the Vietnamese to accept the settlement and provoked considerable discussion within the radical and antiwar movements. The current article is also likely to provoke some controversy.

Stone argues that "Nixon and the military had to 'get out' [of Vietnam] in order to stay in." As a result of the popular opposition provoked by the war, he says, "Even the idea of a small residual force had become untenable; it was seen



The bill of rights in the Vietnam cease-fire agreement is 'a bitter joke,' says Stone.

as an open invitation to renewed escalations. Only by removing all combat troops from South Vietnam, recovering the POWs in exchange, and making it look as if we [the U.S.] were really getting out at last could Nixon obtain popular acquiescence in maintaining offshore and on nearby bases a huge air and sea armada ready for renewed intervention."

Stone estimates that the cost of maintaining this armada, along with economic and military assistance to the U.S.-supported dictatorships in Southeast Asia, "may easily run to \$10 billion next fiscal year."

"A second key to coming events lies in the lopsided character of the cease-fire agreement," he explains. "It effectively obligates Thieu to nothing at all," while the U.S. has made clear that if the NLF or Hanoi resort to arms again it will resume the bombing.

"... Hanoi is obligated to maintain the cease-fire agreement with the US no matter how much Thieu stalls on negotiations. And Thieu must frustrate these if he is to retain power. The setup now gives Thieu a blank check for resumed American bombing if the other side balks. This means that Thieu is encouraged to sabotage the agreement."

"Obviously," Stone states, "the new scenario is for Thieu to wipe out his domestic opposition while we keep the military balance in his favor . . ." In light of Thieu's continued control of the cities, the promises about releasing political prisoners, ensuring "the democratic liberties of the people," holding free elections are "a bitter joke."

Looking back to the Geneva agreements in 1954, Stone stresses the fact that the French "won far better terms than the military situation in Indochina warranted by trading on the then united Sino-Soviet bloc's opposition to German rearmament and its desire . . . for 'peaceful coexistence.' In 1954, as now—so close is the parallel—the Soviet Union was ready to curb Vietnamese military action in return for a European Security Conference."

For Peking, Stone says, the main incentive to cooperate with the U.S. is the promise contained in the joint Nixon-Chou communiqué of February 1972. The U.S. pledged it would "progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area [i.e., Indochina] diminishes." The corollary is that if fighting flares up again in Indochina, forces on Taiwan will not be reduced. . . . For China, as the communiqué said, this (and not Indochina) is 'the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States.'"

Nixon's proposal of aid for Hanoi "is only a lever for imperial purposes, i.e., for maintaining US power elsewhere in Indochina." Stone points out that Kissinger said Jan. 24 that aid to Hanoi would be discussed "only after the signature of the agreements. And after the implementation is well advanced" [Stone's emphasis]. The implementation would include withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and Laos, from their supply routes and bases, and joint demobilization of their forces with those of South Vietnam on some formula to be negotiated by both sides, a face-saving way to get Hanoi's troops out of the South."

Quoting Kissinger's admonition that "peace in Indochina requires the self-restraint of all of the major countries," Stone points out that "having just equipped Thieu with what is probably the largest air force in the world outside those of the Big Three and perhaps India, and given him the largest and best equipped army in the world next to those of the US, USSR, China, and India; having mobilized some 5,000 or more 'civilian' technicians to enable him to maintain this aerial and other equipment, and promised one-for-one replacement as it wears out, we now ask the suppliers of the other side to restrain themselves!

"Part of the 'restraint,' too, must be to look the other way—as the Russians and Chinese did in 1956 when the promise of elections was never kept. This is Nixon's scenario for keeping the Thieu dictatorship in power."

"Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow," Stone continues, "kept their part of the bargain for many years after Geneva. The failure to hold the 1956 elections passed without real protest. The reprisals against political opponents, forbidden by the Geneva pact as they are by the new cease-fire, were openly carried out by Diem without reaction from the communist capitals. It was Diem, a narrow-minded Catholic dictator in a Buddhist country (in this, too, Thieu is his exact counterpart), who stirred up the revolt, and that revolt came not because of but against the communist party line." [Emphasis in original.]

The truth is, says Stone, that "not until US combat troops entered the South in 1965 did Hanoi take any substantial military part. Not until we began to bomb the North did it begin to get sizable military supplies from the Soviet Union, most of them defensive."

The struggle in the South developed on its own, without support or encouragement from any of the workers states, says Stone. As Thieu carries out his plans of repression, tries to prevent the refugees in the cities from returning to their land, bombs the countryside with his new air force, and faces the economic crisis that is accompanying the U.S. troop withdrawal, the struggle in the South will begin again.

"The signs point toward a third Indochina war. They have done so ever since we forced the other side to accept the Thieu regime. We are back to 1954, and the tragedy begins its replay, like something out of a Hindu legend about eternal recurrence," Stone concludes.

POW cites 'pressure to conform'

"I feel beyond any doubt that those people [anti-Vietnam-war demonstrators] kept us in prison an extra year or two," said Colonel Robinson Risner, an ex-POW, Feb. 26. To make himself perfectly clear, he added, "not just the people demonstrating, but the people who were downing or bad-mouthing our government and our policies."

Colonel Risner is one of the first batch of returning POWs who the military permitted to answer reporters' questions on the antiwar movement.

On Feb. 23 Army public relations officers (one for every two ex-POWs) arranged news conferences for some 20 of the 163 Americans released so far. This was the first time in nearly two weeks that the news media were allowed to ask some of the men questions.

Even though most of the ex-POWs were military careerists and likely to have prowar views, the military brass no doubt picked these 20 carefully. All of the participants in the news conferences insisted that the Vietnam war had succeeded and was worth all the dying and hardships. Several assailed the antiwar movement. One objected to the changes in women's views of themselves and their rights, saying, "I find it a little disconcerting to find women wearing pants and men wearing women's hair styles."

But where were the rest of the ex-POWs? Why were the brass afraid to let them speak out?

Answers to these questions were suggested by an article by Seymour Hersh in the Feb. 23 *New York Times*. Hersh's information comes not from officially sanctioned press interviews but from unnamed "sources close to the prisoners."

Hersh found out that "there was a wide diversity of opinion about the war and how it should be ended. . . . One former prisoner complained about what he termed strong psychological and military pressure to conform."

According to Hersh's sources, "One former prisoner estimated that as much as 20 percent of the men held in the North favored the election of Senator George McGovern as offering the best chance for their early release."

This same prisoner estimated that "40 percent of the prisoners were 'hard-line' military men who became even more hawkish during captivity."

An interesting comment on the effect of the antiwar movement in inspiring the Vietnamese to continue their struggle was made by Colonel Risner. He stated that "it was very evident to all of us [prisoners] that the Communists' spirit or morale went up and down along with the amount of demonstrations, protests, and antiwar movement back in the States."

Despite all the patriotic statements coming out of the mouths of some of the ex-POWs, the stage-managed prisoner release is backfiring on the Nixon administration.

Even the influential *New York Times*, a mouthpiece for a section of the ruling class, was embarrassed at the blatant muzzling of the POWs. On Feb. 24 the editors pointed to the public relations job done on the prisoners as evidence of "a Government lacking faith in its people."

The reaction of Shana Alexander, columnist in *Newsweek*, was to say: "After hearing nearly identical statements of loyalty and patriotism from each man, one wondered if they had not been brainwashed more in twenty hours on the plane home than in all the years in camp; as if what had been recapped [the Army originally called the prisoner return 'Operation Egress Recap'] was the prisoners' heads."



Ex-POW

U.S. THREATENS MORE BOMBING STRIKES AGAINST LAOS DESPITE CEASE-FIRE ACCORD

From Intercontinental Press
By JON ROTHCHILD

On the morning of February 22, the U.S. Air Force command-and-control aircraft that directs American bombing strikes in Laos left its station for relocation to Thailand. This was in accordance with the provision of the Laos cease-fire pact that calls for the end of U.S. bombing of the country.

Before leaving, the pilot sent a radio message to ground control: "Good-by and see you next war."

He may have spoken too soon.

On February 23 senior U.S. military officials admitted that nine B-52s had bombed Pathet Lao positions near Pak Song on the western fringe of the Bolovens Plateau in southern Laos. The raids came less than twenty-four hours after the Laotian cease-fire formally went into effect, and were allegedly a response to what Vientiane Premier Souvanna Phouma described—fraudulently, as it turned out—as a general Pathet Lao offensive conducted in violation of the cease-fire.

The February 24 *New York Times* cited "administration sources" as saying that the illegal bombing was aimed at securing both short-term and long-term objectives. In the short run, "any failure to respond to active combat thrusts by North Vietnamese or Pathet Lao forces after the cease-fire might have tempted further disregard of the truce."

And also, "willingness to resume B-52 strikes in Laos would add force to private warnings that any major violations in South Vietnam by North Vietnamese troops might bring about a resumption of air operations against the Hanoi Government."

The first part of the explanation is nonsense, since there was no "active combat thrust" by the liberation forces. A report by Malcolm Browne in the February 25 *New York Times* called into question Souvanna Phouma's charge of a rebel offensive. He noted reports of Vientiane government units "pouring artillery shells into villages" simply for displaying the Pathet Lao flag, which is supposedly permitted under the accords.

With the appropriate changes in terminology ("resistance to aggression" for "violations" and "people of North Vietnam" for "Hanoi Government"), the second justification for U.S. B-52 raids is one of the more honest descriptions of U.S. intentions for the post-cease-fire period in Indochina.

Nearly all Western press reports on the Vientiane agreement noted the dejection prevalent in government circles and the elation among Pathet Lao representatives. It appears that on most disputed issues the views of the liberation forces prevailed.

The most crucial terms of the settlement are:

- A cease-fire in place, effective as of noon February 22 will be ordered.
- It is forbidden to "carry out mop-up, intimidation, and suppression drives against the lives and property of the people or to discriminate against people who participated with the opposite side during the war."
- All foreign troops are to be withdrawn. The reintroduction of "military personnel of any type, regular forces or irregular forces, and all kinds of weapons and war means of foreign countries" into Laos is forbidden.
- Pending the holding of free elections for a national assembly and a new government, the present zones of control will be maintained.
- Two bodies will be formed before the election takes place: first, a National Provisional Coalition Government

(NPCG) to be composed of equal representation from the liberation forces and the Vientiane administration, with the addition of "two intellectuals who advocate peace, independence, neutrality, and democracy, who will be agreed upon by both sides." This body will replace the present Vientiane regime in the government-controlled zones. Also, a National Provisional Coalition Council, of similar qualitative composition as the NPCG, but different quantitatively, will be formed to assist the work of the NPCG and to help prepare for the elections.

- The cities of Vientiane and Luang Prabang (the royal capital) will be "neutralized."
- The currently nonfunctioning In-

"The parties concerned in Laos, the United States, Thailand, and other foreign countries must strictly respect and implement this agreement. The internal affairs of Laos must be conducted by the Lao people only, without external interference."

The Vientiane outfit had been demanding that North Vietnam be explicitly named as one of the "foreign countries" concerned. Premier Souvanna Phouma now says that the formulation "foreign countries" does include Hanoi. But the Pathet Lao successfully blocked its specific mention.

All these facts account for the sag in morale in the government camp. Vientiane officials fear that the United

to defer a definitive answer on this.

U.S. imperialism clearly failed to achieve its goal of establishing an entrenched pro-American regime in Vientiane. Despite the expenditure of more than \$1,000 million and a level of bombing that, relative to the population of Laos, was as intense as the genocidal attacks on North and South Vietnam, the United States was unable to crush the liberation forces, and even unable to save the Vientiane regime.

In that sense—and in the sense that it will, if carried out, bring an end to overt U.S. military aggression in Laos, most importantly an end to the bombing—it is a victory for the Laotian revolution.

But the more favorable terms won by the liberation forces in Laos also have an opposite aspect: They indicate, much more clearly than in the case of South Vietnam, that the liberation forces in fact stopped short of what could have been achieved. The Vientiane government will be dissolved (at least if the terms of the accord are implemented), but capitalism remains intact in Laos. This is explicitly stipulated in the section of the agreement (Article 1, Paragraph D) that calls for the recognition, in both zones, of a whole series of democratic rights including "establishing business enterprises and ownership."

The Laos agreement, in its substance, corresponds to the seven-point program that had been the basis of the PRG's political position in South Vietnam. It has been won in a situation that is more favorable, both militarily and politically, to the liberation forces than is the situation in South Vietnam. It may therefore be assumed that events in Laos will directly reveal the intentions of the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao leaderships. The concrete social and political content of Hanoi's notion of "coalition government" will now become clear.

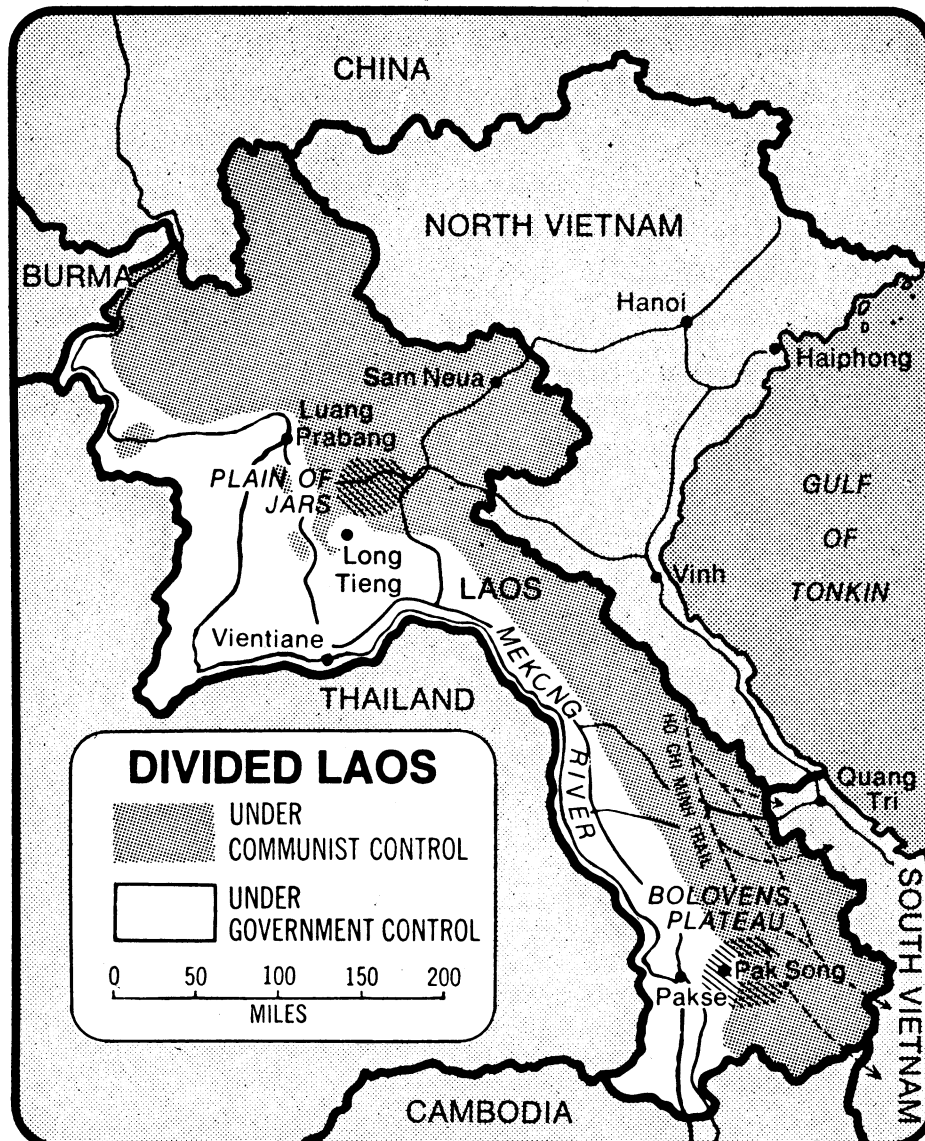
It may be taken as given that the United States has no intention of abandoning Laos to socialist revolution. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 21, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers hailed the Laos pact as "yet another important step in the over-all solution to the Indochina problem." It is not likely that Rogers views social revolution as an acceptable "solution" to the "Indochina problem."

The aim of the United States appears to be to set Laos up as a buffer zone between Thailand and North Vietnam and to make certain concessions on the composition of the regime, while maintaining social relations that would not advance the revolutionary tide in Southeast Asia.

It remains to be seen whether the liberation forces will accommodate to this aim, although it must be said that so far they have not indicated noncompliance.

Related to this dynamic is the question of secret clauses in the agreement.

Continued on page 22



This map from Newsweek indicates areas U.S. officials admit are controlled by the Pathet Lao.

ternational Control Commission (composed of delegates from Canada, India, and Poland) set up by the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos will "continue to perform its duty."

The differences between this pact and the Vietnam agreement mainly involve the coalition government. While the Vietnam accord allows for the preservation of the Thieu regime, the Laos pact calls for the rapid dismantling of the Vientiane government and its replacement by the coalition regime the Pathet Lao claims to have been fighting for.

Moreover, where the Vietnam agreement only tacitly recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government's existence, the Laos pact treats the administration of the liberated territories of the country virtually as a formal government.

The Vientiane clique had demanded that it be referred to in the agreement as the "Royal Laotian Government." The Pathet Lao call it the Vientiane administration. The accord says "Vientiane Government"—a designation that excludes its recognition as the government of all Laos.

The Pathet Lao won their point on another terminological question. Article 1, Paragraph B, which refers to Laotian independence, reads in part:

States has left them hanging in an unfavorable position. The liberation forces now control between two-thirds and four-fifths of the countryside and about one-third of the population. Many areas have been under Pathet Lao administration for as long as a decade. The Laotian liberated areas are probably even more secure and better able to defend themselves than those in South Vietnam.

Moreover, the Vientiane regime and its army are far weaker than the Thieu clique. "Even presuming that the cease-fire is relatively effective," Malcolm Browne wrote in the February 22 *New York Times*, "the Laotian Army has never been known for its discipline or unity, and now, with the war over in theory, many Vientiane units are likely to disband themselves for lack of unifying direction."

"The most effective elements fighting for Vientiane in any case are irregular troops, many of them tribesmen, who are often paid and commanded by American Central Intelligence Agency men. Irregular units tend to disperse rapidly unless held together by firm command, high pay and a feeling that they will continue to be supported by Americans if necessary."

In light of all this, should the Laos pact be viewed as a big victory for the liberation forces? It would be well



Prince Souvanna Phouma

Hanoi: U.S., Saigon violate Vietnam truce

By CAROLINE LUND

FEB. 27—Today President Nixon threatened to stop the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam by insisting that U.S. withdrawal was contingent upon the rate of release of American prisoners of war. Nixon's threat was in response to an announcement by the North Vietnamese government that it would release no more American prisoners until the U.S. government and the Saigon regime stopped violating the Vietnam cease-fire agreement.

A North Vietnamese official charged the Saigon army with carrying out 20,000 military operations during the month-old cease-fire. He stated that delegates from North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam on the Joint Military Commission had been "subject to provocation, isolation and, in some cases, violence" by Saigon authorities. He cited attacks on North Vietnamese officials in Danang and Hue Feb. 25 by "a gang of hooligans" hired by Saigon. In addition, he protested the Saigon regime's refusal to release civilian political prisoners.

Recognizing the anxiety of families awaiting the return of American POWs, the Hanoi representative referred to "the similar feelings of the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese families whose members are being detained in South Vietnamese concentration camps and prisons."

The North Vietnamese statement contrasted sharply with earlier statements by Nixon administration spokesmen suggesting that peace is around the corner in Vietnam. Sylvan Fox reported from Saigon in the Feb. 27 *New York Times*, "The overriding reality of Vietnam, a month after the ostensible arrival of peace, is that virtually nothing has changed. . . . Vietnam has not become a nation at peace."

Saigon claims to have killed 10,000 rebel-soldiers since the "truce" began. The Feb. 25 *New York Times* estimated 200,000 people were made homeless in just the two previous days of fighting.

The International Commission of Control and Supervision has been unable to make any progress in its task of "monitoring" the cease-fire, since the Thieu regime continues to contest rebel-held areas. One member of the commission complained: "We did not come here to supervise a war but a cease-fire."

Under the title "Thieu runs 'garrison state,'" the Feb. 18 *Washington Post* reported Saigon's President Thieu "is continuing to run South Vietnam almost as if the Paris cease-fire agreement had never been signed, with the army and the police as his principal instruments of statecraft."

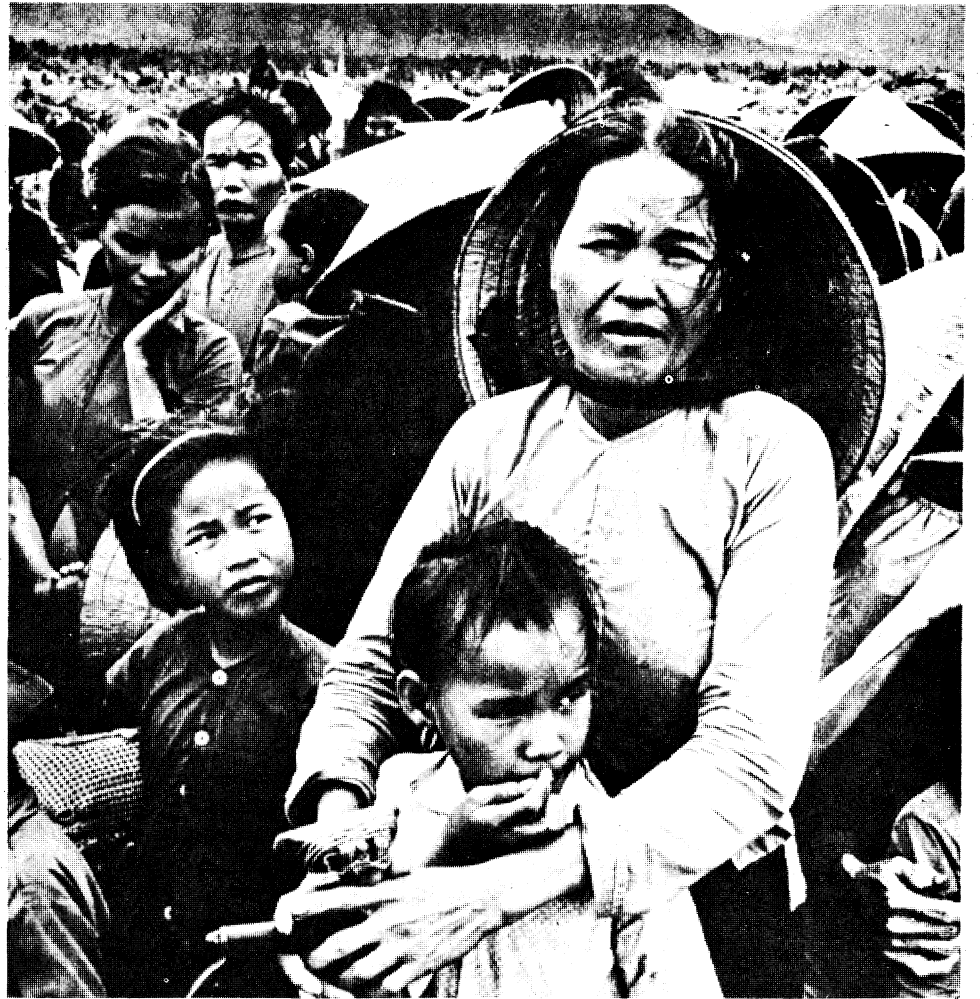
"South Vietnam remains under martial law," the article continues, "with the army acting as police force, a court system, propaganda agent and civil administrator down to the lowest levels of government." Demonstrations and even press conferences are illegal without a permit. The only demonstrations allowed have been those directed against the North Vietnamese delegates on the Joint Military Commission.

The Feb. 27 *New York Times* states that these attacks against the North Vietnamese "have been inspired by local authorities, either acting on orders from Saigon or convinced that Saigon would approve their actions."

A radio broadcast from Hanoi Feb. 20 denounced repressive raids by Saigon police. Between Jan. 29 and Feb. 4, said the broadcast, the Saigon regime launched 500 "police operations" in Hue alone, making "thousands of arrests" of "suspected communist sympathizers."

U.S. military officials bluntly admit their backing of Thieu's attempts to chip away at territory held by the liberation forces. In the provincial capital of Kontum, for example, the Saigon forces have been trying to regain control over Route 14, the major highway connecting Kontum with Saigon. According to the Feb. 24 *New York Times*, however, "the government freely conceded [it] had been closed at the time of the cease-fire."

Meanwhile American B-52s were pounding rebel-held positions in Cam-



The war is not over for refugees in South Vietnam

Indochina Peace Campaign

bodia as the war raged there as well. Reports on the fighting in Cambodia emphasized the extreme weakness of the Pnom Penh government. On Feb. 22 rebel forces made several new attacks on the main southern highways close to the capital. On Feb. 25 it was reported that they had advanced to within three miles of the suburbs of the capital. The Feb. 25 *New York Times* reported the rebels had "badly mauled" government forces and threatened to take a provincial capital. On Feb. 27 they overran two major government positions.

The *Times* also reported Feb. 25 that sources in the Vientiane government "said there were reports of widespread desertions to the Communist

side from the 1,800-man Government garrison in the provincial capital [of Tram Khnar], 22 miles southwest of Pnom Penh.

In the Feb. 22 *Christian Science Monitor*, Daniel Southerland quotes a "Western diplomat" in Phnom Penh as saying, "There is no reason for them [the Cambodian rebels] to sue for peace. They can just wait for disintegration. The way things are going now, Cambodia is slowly sinking."

"Sinking" from the point of view of American imperialists perhaps, but for the Cambodian masses it is a rising up to throw the yoke of foreign domination and a corrupt capitalist-landlord regime off their backs.

Secret deals at Paris conference?

Nixon threatens Hanoi over POW issue

By CAROLINE LUND

FEB. 28—The outcome of the Paris international conference on Vietnam was in doubt today, after U.S. representatives threatened to stop U.S. troop withdrawals from Vietnam. President Nixon simply dismissed Hanoi's charges of flagrant U.S. and Saigon violations of the Vietnam agreement. (See article above.)

Flaunting the worldwide sentiment against U.S. military aggression in Vietnam, Nixon threatened that if Hanoi did not continue releasing American POWs he would stop troop withdrawals and the minesweeping in North Vietnamese harbors. If Hanoi maintains its insistence on tying POW releases to implementation of the accords, Nixon said, the U.S. would take "appropriate action"—a vague threat that could mean anything, including resumption of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

According to a *Chicago Daily News* report cited in the Feb. 27 *New York Post*, "some officials in Saigon believed Hanoi's action threatened to jeopardize the entire Vietnam peace accord."

In Paris Secretary of State William Rogers responded to the North Vietnamese statement by threatening to leave the 13-nation conference de-

signed to "guarantee the ending of the war."

China and the Soviet Union are among the 13 countries participating in this conference. However, there have not yet been any statements from the Moscow or Peking delegations condemning the U.S. threats to resume the war, or supporting Hanoi's demands that the U.S. and Saigon carry out their side of the agreement.

Where was Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko while Nixon was making his threats? He and Secretary of State Rogers were dining with their wives at a snazzy Paris restaurant on pressed duck, quenelles, and two desserts—flamed peaches and profiterolles au chocolat!

Gromyko's behavior gives an indication of what is going on at the international conference—which is being conducted in closed sessions held secret from the people of the world.

On the surface, the U.S. hopes the conference will give "a resounding international endorsement of its terms [in the Vietnam accord]—plus giving others some obligation to enforce them," in the words of a European diplomat quoted in the Feb. 26 *Wall Street Journal*.

The *Journal* continues: "The real business of the conference, however,

will be the behind-the-scenes collaboration among the U.S., China and the Soviet Union about enforcing cease-fire terms throughout Indochina. The results probably won't be announced officially, but they may be publicized discreetly as warnings to any factions that seek to resume war."

The article quotes a "senior American official" as saying, "Arms shipments [to North Vietnam] are the most interesting subject we can discuss with Moscow and Peking." Another big topic of discussion, says the article, will be the removal of the estimated 145,000 North Vietnamese troops allowed to stay in South Vietnam by the accords.

Moscow and Peking are openly collaborating with the U.S. to stabilize what Nixon calls "peace" in Indochina—that is, maintaining dictatorial capitalist regimes in Indochina.

Soviet Communist Party chief Brezhnev, for example, has even accepted the language of the imperialists. In a letter to Nixon made public Feb. 21, he expressed "profound satisfaction" over the signing of the Vietnam accords, referring to Vietnam as "one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension." By calling the struggle of the Vietnamese for freedom a "hotbed of tension" Brezhnev

was assuring Nixon that he did not take the side of the Vietnamese rebels in their just struggle.

The Peking bureaucracy, on the other hand, made its position clear during presidential adviser Henry Kissinger's recent visit to China. Peking agreed to set up mutual "liaison offices" with the U.S., but this wasn't the real meaning of the summit meeting.

The March 5 *Newsweek* observed that the agreements reached with Kissinger "signify China's acceptance of America's basic Asian policy—the Nixon Doctrine—and Peking's apparent decision to throw its considerable weight behind the goal of an era of peace in Asia." By "peace" they mean Nixon's "peace"—an end to struggles for national independence and social justice.

The refusal of Moscow and Peking to answer Nixon's threats of renewed U.S. military action lends even greater urgency to the need for antiwar forces in this country to expose Nixon's aims. We must demand immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, an end to the bombing of Laos and Cambodia, dismantling of all U.S. bases, and an end to all U.S. aid to Thieu and other U.S.-imposed regimes in Southeast Asia.

'Far left' debates strategy

What's at stake in French elections?

By TONY THOMAS

As parliamentary elections scheduled in France for March 4 and 11 near, gains continue to be made by the Union of the Left, an electoral coalition dominated by the French Socialist and Communist parties.

In the last parliamentary elections held in 1968, the Stalinist and social democratic parties received a combined total of between 30 and 35 percent of the vote. The Gaullist UDR (Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the Republic) won nearly 60 percent of the seats in the National Assembly in that election.

At the beginning of the current campaign most observers thought that the Union of the Left might make some gains but that the Gaullists would retain their majority. However, public opinion polls now indicate that the Union of the Left is leading the UDR bloc by as much as 10 percent.

A Feb. 13 United Press International dispatch from Paris reported that a poll in the Feb. 12 issue of *L'Aurore*, an ultraconservative Paris newspaper, gave the Union of the Left 47 percent of the vote with the Gaullists receiving 35 percent. A liberal capitalist "reform" coalition led by Senator Jean Lecanuet and publisher and Radical-Socialist leader Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber was credited with 17 percent.

One of the more surprising aspects of the growth of the Union of the Left has been the renewed support for the Socialist Party. Once the strongest party on the left in France, the SP received less than 5 percent of the vote in the 1969 elections for the French presidency, compared with more than 20 percent for the CP. It had appeared that they would play a subordinate role within the Union of the Left.

However, as the Feb. 7 *Washington Post* reports, "The polls show the Socialists outdistancing the Communists on the first ballot and approximately 40 per cent of centrist [Lecanuet-Servan-Schreiber] voters willing to vote Socialist in the runoffs, rather than for Gaullists."

The *Post* reported enough support among "members of the liberal professions, high civil servants and business executives in sufficient numbers for the Socialists to become the senior partners in the leftist union."

Two-round system

The elections for the National Assembly will be held in two rounds March 4 and 11. To be elected in the first round, a candidate must receive at least 50 percent of the votes for that office. If no candidate receives 50 percent (which is usually the case in most districts), a second round will be held March 11.

To run in the second round, a candidate must receive votes totaling at least 5 percent of the registered voters. On the second round the candidate with the highest vote wins.

The Union of the Left has agreed to run a common slate on the second round, although each of the parties within the Union of the Left is running its own slate on the first round.

In a given district Left Radical, CP, and SP candidates may contest the parliamentary seat on the first round. But on the second round they have agreed that only one candidate will run. Which candidates will run will be determined by the Union of the Left parties on the basis of a number of factors, including vote-catching appeal, attaining a national balance,

and making sure the most prominent leaders get elected to the National Assembly.

The Union of the Left parties have pledged to form a government—i.e., elect a cabinet and premier—if they gain a majority of those elected to the National Assembly, or if they can combine with others to form such a majority. They have issued a reformist "Common Program" delineating the government measures they will take in office—all safely designed to preserve the capitalist system.



Communist League election campaign meeting

Rouge

The Feb. 12 *Intercontinental Press* describes the traditional usage of the two-round system:

"On the first round, the custom is to vote for the candidates whose program meets with the approval of the voter. A voter who does not agree with the program of any candidate on the ballot can show this by abstaining on the first round. (This does not invalidate the right to vote in the second round.)

"On the second round, a voter may choose to vote for a candidate as a lesser evil, or because the candidate belongs to a class favored by the voter.

"Thus in the current election, in areas where no revolutionary candidates are running, a worker could express critical support of Communist or Socialist party candidates in the following way: abstain on the first round and vote for them on the second round.

"This would register disapproval of the class-collaborationist program of these two parties while showing support for them as working-class parties against the bourgeois parties."

Debate within 'far left'

The current parliamentary elections and the growth of the Union of the Left have posed serious challenges to French revolutionaries. The Union of the Left has gained broad support, particularly among French workers and students.

It involves the Socialists and Stalinists in their first such coalition since the middle-1940s, as well as a "left" splinter of individual figures from the liberal-capitalist Radical-Socialist Party.

The Union of the Left has developed in the aftermath of the May-June 1968 French general strike and worker-student upsurge, which were betrayed by the Stalinists and Social Democrats. Through that experience growing

numbers of student and worker militants came to understand the class-collaborationist, counterrevolutionary character of the CP and reached the decision that a revolutionary socialist organization must be constructed.

The experience of May 1968, along with the social struggles that have gripped France since then, have led to the growth of the French "far left"—revolutionary-minded organizations that are seen as to the left of the CP.

The current parliamentary election campaign has posed many questions

to this "far left." They center on the nature of the Union of the Left and the attitude of revolutionaries to electoral action by the Communist and Socialist parties, as well as their attitude to the CP-SP alliance with the liberal-capitalist Left Radicals.

One of the questions posed is whether to call for a vote "for the Union of the Left" on the second round, or to call for a vote for the Communist Party and Socialist Party candidates as candidates of workers parties. Another question that has arisen is what attitude the various organizations

in the Dec. 16 *Rouge* why the League will lend its support to a Union of the Left victory:

"The workers see [the Union of the Left] as the workers' alternative to the powers that be. As a result, their vote will have a class meaning. For these reasons, an electoral victory for the Union of the Left would, in the present conjuncture, constitute an important element in deepening the political crisis of the regime and, at the same time, a powerful stimulus to the combativity of the masses. It is in the interest of the workers (as well as of the revolutionary Marxists) for the majority coalition [UDR] (viewed by the masses as belonging to the bourgeois camp) to meet with the biggest possible defeat and for the Union of the Left (viewed by the masses as the workers' camp) to meet with the greatest success."

In an article printed in the Feb. 12 *Intercontinental Press*, Pierre Frank, a member of the political bureau of the Communist League, wrote, "In the first round, the Ligue Communiste is calling for voting only for the revolutionary candidates and for abstaining where they are not on the ballot. In the second round, it will continue to denounce the program of the Union de la Gauche [Union of the Left], and its purported roads to socialism. But in order to enable the workers to learn by their own experience and not to put any obstacle in the way of this, the Ligue Communiste will call on its supporters, in accordance with the old tactic already set forth by Lenin in his *Left-Wing Communism*, to eliminate the candidates of the bourgeoisie by voting for the candidates—but not for the program—of the Union de la Gauche. In this way we will have counterposed our entire program to that of the bourgeoisie and of the Union de la Gauche and done the

Continued on page 22



Alain Krivine

Militant/Brian Shanon

within the "far left" should take to the campaigns of the other "far left" groups.

Because of the importance of these issues for French and international revolutionary strategy, we will attempt to summarize the positions of the most important "far left" organizations.

The Communist League (French section of the Fourth International) is the largest and most influential group in the French far left, with over 5,000 members and organized sym-

World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

MARCH 9, 1973

Fred Halstead reports from Argentina

How Argentine socialist campaign aided plastics workers strike

[Fred Halstead and Virginia Garza are in Argentina as reporters for *The Militant* on the national elections scheduled for March 11. This election campaign is of special significance because of the role of the campaign of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party). The PST is running Juan Coral and Nora Ciapponi for president and vice-president. In addition to running its own members as candidates, the PST has offered use of its official ballot status to trade unionists and other workers who wish to run for office in a front against all the capitalist candidates and parties. The Frente Obrero (Workers Front) is composed of committees of rank-and-file workers in factories, neighborhoods, and unions throughout Argentina. A total of 2,300 candidates are running under the PST label.]

[Fred Halstead is a well-known activist in the American antiwar movement. He was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president in the 1968 U.S. elections.]

By Fred Halstead

San Miguel de Tucumán
February 11

Argentina's industry is largely centered around the four biggest cities: Buenos Aires, Rosario, Córdoba, and San Miguel de Tucumán. Of these, San Miguel de Tucumán, with 350,000 people, is the smallest and the most depressed.

A province in the foothills of the Andes, where sugar is the main crop, Tucumán is crowded at harvesttime with migratory workers who are left without jobs when the crop is in. Then they move on or try to get jobs in the city, and the general effect is to bid wages down. But prices are just as high as in Buenos Aires, where wages run about 20 percent higher.

One feature of the campaign of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) is that the party has placed its campaign resources and candidates at the disposal of workers involved in struggles, particularly in connection with the national union contract negotiations. (These negotiations have been going

on in this country since the end of the year and are now mainly completed.)

One inevitable result of this policy is that a group of workers may make such a request when they are in deep trouble in a showdown fight with an intransigent employer and when a victory in the struggle—or even a positive outcome—is by no means assured. Any revolutionist with more than passing experience with the labor movement has faced this kind of situation and knows the heartache it can involve.

So it is with the strike of some 400 workers at a plastics factory called Panam just outside this sweltering capital city of Tucumán Province in the north of Argentina. And so it is with Carlos "Chino" Moya, sometime student, sometime packinghouse worker, full-time PST member and professional revolutionist, who is a PST-Frente Obrero candidate for the provincial legislature. Chino drew the assignment of working with the Panam strikers when they asked for help.

Chino and some other PST campaigners had gone to the plastics workers' union hall in the course of normal campaigning before the strike

began. The first reaction of the workers was reserved. They listened, but they were cool.

The workers had had a one-hour work stoppage January 3. The employer was intransigent during negotiations, refused to consider demands relating to conditions in the plant, and threatened repression.

Elementary demands

The workers' demands were really quite elementary: that the company adhere to health and safety laws, live up to the rule requiring an allowance of one quart of milk a day per worker in industries with excessive heat and fumes, raise all wages that are below the legal minimum, and end the "military" atmosphere of supervision.

The company reacted to the work stoppage by firing 35 workers and suspending 150. The workers responded with a strike beginning January 9.

The PST took certain minimum practical actions of support. They put out press releases in the name of the party supporting the strike and calling on all other political parties to do the same. (PST press releases are published in the daily press here as a

matter of course.) Since most of the other parties claim to represent the workers, this put a certain pressure on them.

The PST and the Frente Obrero also called on the CGT—the all-inclusive federation of Argentine unions—to support the strike. These calls were published in the daily press in Tucumán. The Frente Obrero organized collections to provide funds for the strikers. In addition, PST members on the student committee that runs the cooperative cafeteria at the local university proposed that the cafeteria be open free to Panam strikers for the duration of the strike. The proposal was adopted.

The strikers received no financial aid from their national union or the CGT. Indeed, they had been advised by representatives of the national union leadership to go back to work. On the twelfth day of the strike, when it was clear the boss was determined to break it, the workers came to the PST-Frente Obrero campaign for help.

The PST did not pretend it could itself offer substantial material aid, only that it could help the strikers organize themselves to put pressure on broader political circles and the rest of the labor movement.

Chino proposed the following: that a committee of the Panam strikers be organized to direct the strike; that a strike bulletin be published regularly by this committee; that collections be organized throughout the area to get money for the strike; and that the strike committee demand aid from other unions in the area and the CGT itself. All the proposals were adopted and implemented. The workers co-opted Chino onto the strike committee.

In addition, organized picketing was begun. It had to be abandoned, however, because the police forbid it and stationed men to arrest any strikers found in the area of the plant. In spite of this, the strike was fairly solid, with only about 10 percent of the workers entering the plant—not enough for production.

With the increased publicity and more efficient organization of the strike, the rest of the labor movement began paying attention.

Province-wide stoppage

In Tucumán a section of the Peronist union bureaucracy has been trying to put on a more militant face in the recent period. They control a bloc of 26 unions in the provincial CGT, and this bloc supported the idea proposed by the strike committee of a general CGT work stoppage in the province in support of the Panam strikers.

This move was not entirely motivated by crystal pure feelings of
Continued on following page



Students in Tucuman meet in student-controlled cafeteria to discuss support for Panam strike.

Militant/Fred Halstead

...socialist campaign aids strike

Continued from preceding page
working-class solidarity. For one thing, many of these bureaucrats are themselves candidates for the Peronist party in the current election campaign, and the Panam situation was proving something of an embarrassment for them with all the publicity it was getting.

In addition, this whole affair was

the Panam strikers — around whom the whole class struggle in Tucumán had centered for a time — had no money to pay their rent or other household bills.

The little money the strike committee could collect on its own was barely enough to feed the families who couldn't make the long trip to the university cafeteria. Slowly, one by

optimistic than Chino, who tends to look behind every move of the labor bureaucrats for an ulterior motive.

Student cooperative

One night I attended a meeting of the student cooperative, held at their cafeteria, where the Panam strike would be discussed. A few of the strikers stayed for the meeting, which was after the nighttime meal.

This cooperative is a gain made in the Tucumanazo, a student-worker uprising in 1970. (The food, incidentally, is far better than the fare in most North American student cafeterias. The cooperative is run entirely by an elected committee of students.)

The walls of the cafeteria were covered with slogans, many of them advocating armed struggle. Virtually every variety of student left tendency was represented in the slogans, including the left Peronists.

When the point on the Panam strike began to be discussed it became clear a number of the students had the knife out for the PST. "Political election campaigns are a farce to make the people sleep." "Censure the PST because they are not giving the strikers a combat perspective." "Change the collection box perspective to the gun perspective." These were some of the remarks.

Chino was boiling mad. His face muscles showed through the skin as he spoke making a defense of what the PST had done and appealing for practical support to the strike.

A big, sleepy-eyed striker with an open shirt and a two-day beard took the floor and addressed the students: "We welcome your support to help win the strike. We are not interested in your squabbles here being brought to the union hall. Many tendencies come. All are welcome to help win the strike."

A student interrupts: "What do you propose to do in the strike?" The striker replies: "We're asking you to help collect money to help win the strike. All tendencies are welcome. But don't bring your squabbles. There is a large strike support meeting tomorrow night. You are all welcome to attend."

Another student interrupts: "You say everyone is welcome, but I was thrown out of the union hall."

The striker replied, slowly and deliberately, "I'm telling you you are welcome to help win the strike, but not for any other reason. All the politicians have tried to do their poli-

ticking with us. We welcome them to help win our strike not to bring their politicking. You are welcome. Please excuse any worker who said mean things to you. But do not bring your squabbles to the union hall."

A long repetitive discussion ensued. At one point a student said, "Don't tell me you don't have politics in the union hall. You had a vice-presidential candidate there." (Nora Ciapponi, PST candidate for vice-president, had spoken to a strikers meeting a few days earlier.)

The sleepy-eyed striker replied: "Everyone is welcome. We wish all the vice-presidential candidates had come to support the strike. She came to support the strike. If you come to support the strike, you are welcome. But please don't bring your squabbles to the union hall."

At one point a student accused the PST of being "anticommunist," and a fight broke out. A pitcher of water crashed against the table, and I retreated to the far corner of the cafeteria. There I met the sleepy-eyed striker, who had done the same.

The next night I attended the strike support meeting in downtown Tucumán. About 250 people were there, perhaps 100 of them strikers, some students, and a number of members of other unions in the area. Representative of several important unions in the area gave verbal support.

A member of the strike committee read messages of support in the order in which they had been received. Virtually every political party in the area had by this time sent a message. The PST was first.

A representative of the national plastics workers union spoke at some length, pledging an all-out fight and a possible nationwide strike in the plastics industry until Panam settled. Repeatedly he stated that the national union "can't be bought off and has not sold out." I think his attitude was a little like Shakespeare's character who "doth protest too much."

Chino spoke for the PST, and when he got up to go to the stage the strikers gave him a big hand. Representatives of some of the students groups also spoke, but they didn't attack each other or the PST, just supported the strike and gave their own positions in positive terms. Apparently the sleepy-eyed striker had finally gotten through.

The next day news came that the CGT had called a special council meeting on Panam for later this week. The strike committee will try to hold on. As I left to write this article, Chino was trying to round up cars so that each striker's family could be visited personally to boost morale. □



Militant/Fred Halstead

Shoeshine boys in Tucuman with PST slogans on their shoe shine kits.

taking place during the national contract negotiations for a general wage settlement. The bureaucrats were under pressure from their own ranks to put on some pressure in this regard. A provincial work stoppage would save face on all these matters.

The proposal was adopted by the provincial CGT, and on January 26 a four-hour general work stoppage in the province of Tucumán took place.

The Panam bosses hung tough, but by this time the provincial government was feeling the pressure. The ministry of labor ordered a truce in the Panam strike, during which all the workers would return to work and negotiations would begin over the various disputed matters. The strikers obeyed this order, but the employers refused to allow 21 of the fired workers to return. The strike resumed, and from then on the central issue was the retention of these 21, which includes the leaders of the strike and the most militant workers.

A second general work stoppage throughout the province, this time for 30 hours, was called for February 2. It too was carried out, but the Panam bosses still refused to budge.

I arrived in Tucumán on February 9, as the strike was beginning its second month. In the meantime the national wage contracts had been largely completed. Even the plastics industry had settled for an immediate increase of 35 percent, with another 10 percent next July. Panam agreed to pay this but not to hire back the 21.

The CGT bureaucrats were obviously not so concerned with the fate of these 21 militants, whom they don't control anyway. Though they called the two work stoppages in the province, they did not use them to mobilize direct mass pressure on Panam, instead telling the workers to stay home. Neither the CGT nor the national plastics union gave one dime to the Panam strikers.

Thus it was that by the time I arrived

one, the strikers were beginning to drift back to work.

Faced with this situation, the committee had some difficult decisions to make. If they could just hold out long enough, the CGT would be forced to move again. But if they couldn't hold the ranks firm, the drift back to work could become a flood. The strike would be lost and the company would bar all the militants, not just the 21.

Maybe it would be better to seek a compromise settlement right away to save some of the militants in the plant. This could only be at the sacrifice of the 21, for whom at best they could get some compensation pay.

I didn't envy them this decision, but an orderly retreat is better than a rout, and the future situation in the plant would depend on leaving some militants inside.

Chino introduced me to a leading delegate from the plant, Juan Alberto Vidal, 26, who is also the recording secretary of the plastics workers union in Tucumán. This is not a paid position, and Vidal works in the plant as a machine operator for \$56 a month. (The legal minimum in Buenos Aires is \$64.)

Vidal works with hot plastics in temperatures of 100 degrees and with noxious fumes. A self-educated worker who has studied law at night, he expressed great interest in the copy of *The Militant* I showed him and in conditions in the United States. "We would like to learn from your technology," he said, "without absorbing your alienation."

He is not a member of the PST, and I don't know if he supports the party's election campaign or not. In this regard he said simply, "We struck alone. Now many groups support us — student groups, different tendencies, different political parties. We accept this, all under one banner, winning the strike. The PST was the first group involved unconditionally, without insisting we adopt their politics."

Vidal, who is one of the 21, is more



Militant/Fred Halstead

Luis Gomez speaking at an election rally February 2 held by the PST and Frente Obrero in Rosario. The 700 persons attending the rally also heard Juan Coral, Nora Ciapponi, some of the Frente Obrero candidates in the province of Santa Fe, and a representative of the families of political prisoners.

The SOMISA strike and the growth of a class-struggle leadership in Argentina



Avanzada Socialista

Banners at SOMISA steel plant read: 'Out with Cecchi (a Peronist labor bureaucrat) and his paid assassins.' 'Out with the traitors of the UOM (Peronist-led metal workers union).'

By Nahuel Moreno

I have wanted to write an article explaining to leftists in other countries the importance of the current electoral process to the Argentine revolutionary movement and to our Trotskyist party, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. Suddenly, in SOMISA, the most important steel factory in the country, a strike and occupation take place.

Nahuel Moreno is a leader of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) in Argentina. He has been a leader of the Argentine Trotskyist movement since the 1940s.

We can say, without fear of exaggeration, that the strike and occupation shook Argentine politics from top to bottom; it laid bare all the perspectives and programs of the parties that claim to represent the radical labor movement. Let us look more closely at what took place.

The trade-union movement

The Argentine labor movement is solidly and massively organized within the trade unions. Although there are no official statistics, it is estimated that about 90 percent of the proletariat is unionized. There is a law that specifies the recognition of only one union for each industry and only one trade-union federation.

The unions are colossal bureaucratic structures, similar to the European and American ones. The law allows them to charge compulsory union dues, which are automatically deducted from the workers' salaries and wages. At the same time, each trade union controls the medical and social services for its members, which enables it to handle sums of money running into the millions and to build a bureaucratic apparatus of great proportions. The union of office workers, to give one example, has 2,000 to 3,000 paid employees. The same is true of all the big unions.

When the national bourgeoisie,

along with imperialism, rid itself of Perón's government in 1955, it also tried to crush the Argentine labor movement and its trade-union organizations by imposing a government similar to the one the Brazilian masses are now victims of. But the labor movement's resistance defeated those plans and forced the exploiters to change their tactics: Instead of destroying the workers organization, they sought to control it and prostitute it by corrupting its leadership.

This tactic has given the bourgeoisie better results. We say "better results," and not complete success, because within the traditional trade-union movement of the last 30 years in Argentina, a type of factory committee system has emerged and survived. These are the internal commissions and delegates' bodies, which allow the rank-and-file workers to express themselves and organize mass mobilizations of the working class, which have repeatedly kept the regime in check.

The strongest of all the Argentine unions, both numerically and organizationally (it has 350,000 members), is the Metalworkers Union, the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica). This union includes all the workers who work with metals, except the auto workers, who have their own organization. There is a long-standing dispute between the two unions over who will organize certain factories whose products are related to the automobile industry. The steel industry—from light industry, which produces fans or blenders, to the semi-light industry, which makes refrigerators, to the heavy industry, which makes steel—is affiliated to the Metalworkers Union.

The steelworkers consider themselves part of another industry, like the auto workers do, and refuse to continue belonging to the Metalworkers Union. They have organized their own steelworkers union, with its base among the workers of SOMISA, the military steel factory located in San Nicolás, a port near the city of Buenos Aires.

This action by the steelworkers flows from general considerations related to production and industry, but there is also a more concrete reason behind it: the bureaucratic character of the

UOM and particularly of its San Nicolás section.

This section is the private domain of the CGT's [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] secretary, José Rucci. This is a man who has the total confidence of the government and of Perón, who is a friend of the Spanish Falangists, and who is linked to a fascist organization led by one of the most conspicuous members of the Argentine oligarchy, Anchorena. Rucci publicly prides himself in being a deadly enemy of the left and of Marxists. He travels in luxurious automobiles, surrounded by bodyguards recruited from the underworld and armed to the teeth.

A little over a month ago an incident took place that adequately portrays him. Rucci ran into a left Peronist union leader at the international airport. When the latter's followers began shouting "traitor" to Rucci, the bodyguards responded by opening fire on the group of opponents. In San Nicolás he has imposed a terrorist regime. About 100 bodyguards with carte blanche from the police persecute activists who oppose the bureaucratic leadership of the union.

The strike breaks out

The vast majority of steelworkers have been asking the government to recognize the new steel union (STSA—Sindicato de Trabajadores Siderúrgicos de la Argentina) for more than a year. They have gotten no response, despite the fact that they complied with all the formal requirements.

On Tuesday, January 16,* Rucci's thugs found three of the new union's leaders talking on the telephone and took advantage of the opportunity to beat them up. On Wednesday the SOMISA factory burned with rage. But the workers took no action since there was no recognized leadership in the factory to propose a concrete course of action. On Thursday morning, the candidate of the Frente de los Trabajadores [Workers Front] for mayor of San Nicolás, comrade Luis Gómez, returned to work and initiated a work stoppage in his section.

Soon, under the leadership of our party's candidate, the strike spread and the 8,000 workers occupied the factory and refused to leave. The blood-stained shirt of one of the *compañeros* beaten by the bureaucracy's thugs became the banner of the strike. The strike's demands were: Thugs out of the factory! For the recognition of the Steelworkers Union!

This is, as far as we know, the first strike and occupation directed

*The Militant was mistaken in the dates in our February 23 issue relating to the SOMISA strike.



Panorama

Jose Rucci, secretary of the Argentine trade union federation.

against the army itself in the last several years. It should be pointed out that the army is the owner of the factory, the boss, since SOMISA is a military factory, managed by the military.

The army responded with threats: it surrounded the factory with troops and ordered the workers to vacate it under the threat of using force. The workers' response was unanimous: They surrounded the plant with explosives and threatened to blow it up if the army came in. The army did not go in, and the government and military had to resort to the courts: first setback.

The federal judge and the police tried, in a moderate tone, to explain to the strikers that their action was against the law, against the Penal Code, and promised that "if they left peacefully nothing would happen to them." But the workers were not familiar with codes and continued to occupy the plant.

At this point, the head of Fabricaciones Militares [Military Manufacturing], General Chescotta, came rushing to the scene to guarantee the workers that they would be received by the ministry of labor and that their demands would be heard for the first time: second setback.

No way. The workers would not respond to their bosses' boss. The situation called for none other than General Sanchez de Bustamante himself—who is, along with Lanusse and Lopez Aufranc, one of the three most prestigious and highest-ranking generals of the Argentine army—to go to San Nicolás: third setback.

Sanchez de Bustamante gives his word and promises to solve all the problems. The workers who were occupying the factory become divided: the leadership of the Steelworkers Union is of the opinion that they should accept; comrade Luis Gómez, that the demands must be won before leaving the factory.

The workers who support the union leadership, exhausted by several days of the factory take-over, leave the plant without awaiting the decision of the meeting. Those who remain demand a guarantee that no punitive measures will be taken against them. This is given to them and they also leave.

Impact of the strike on public opinion

The mass media gave great importance to the strike. *Compañero* Gómez appeared on television networks throughout the country as the leader of the occupation, since he was the official spokesman for the workers and the representative to the press.

To cite just one example, the daily *La Nación*, the *New York Times* of the Argentine press, in its January 29 issue, pointed out that the worker leaders of the occupation were: "Luis Moisés Gómez, ex-member of the Radicals [Radical Party] and present candidate for mayor of San Nicolás of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores; Alberto Cano, Radical; Francisco Díaz Jordán, former priest and member of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores; Estanislao Parra Puente, president of the Commission of Bolivian Residents in San Nicolás; Miguel Arias, José Antonio Cartelli, Juan Andrés Citriano, Jorge Xvan Huesa, Ebe Nilda Peralta, and Ricardo Gonsáles; all these without political affiliation."

Like *La Nación*, many other organs of the oral and written media highlighted the figure of Luis Gómez, one of our party's 2,300 candidates.

Perón was exiled from the country for 17 years. The mass mobilizations

Continued on following page.

...meaning of SOMISA strike

Continued from preceding page

of the working-class movement popularly known as the "Cordobazo" or the "Rosarios" [after the cities where these uprisings took place] shook the bourgeois order. They forced the bourgeoisie and imperialism to allow Perón's return and concede to holding elections. Since 1969, as a result of the rise of the working-class movement, our country's capitalist regime has entered a crisis that has forced all the sectors of the bourgeoisie to unite. Perón's return was agreed to as part of this joint plan of the exploiters to derail the workers' struggles and channel them into the parliamentary process and the bourgeois

elections. To better serve the national bourgeoisie, Perón poses as an opponent of the government while reaching all kinds of agreements with the military behind closed doors.

The class struggle has the advantage, among others, of exposing where each person stands. The SOMISA strike unified the entire bourgeoisie, both Peronist and anti-Peronist.

La Nación, a rabidly anti-Peronist newspaper, points out in its lead editorial of the week that this strike was very dangerous because it was led by class-struggle tendencies. Perón, who never in his 17 years of exile condemned a strike or a terrorist act, broke his silence and sent a recorded

message denouncing those who led the factory occupations as "a group of agents provocateurs" (*Mayoría*, January 27—daily organ of the Peronists).

The strike and our party's election campaign

Our party is proud of its analysis and of its intervention in the elections. The [PST] congress [held last December] and the Executive Committee pointed out that the bourgeoisie and imperialism had to be prevented from using the elections to derail the imminent workers' struggles.

We predicted that there would be a new wave of mobilizations and that we had to use the elections to become part of these struggles, not to turn our back on them. We also pointed out that our call for the formation of a workers front for the elections would serve to bring together the vanguard of the trade unions. It would raise this vanguard to the political level so that it could return to the union level armed with a correct political line.

We underscored, at the same time, that the struggle for better salaries, against hunger and misery, and against the trade-union bureaucracy would be the central axes for the mobilization of the working class.

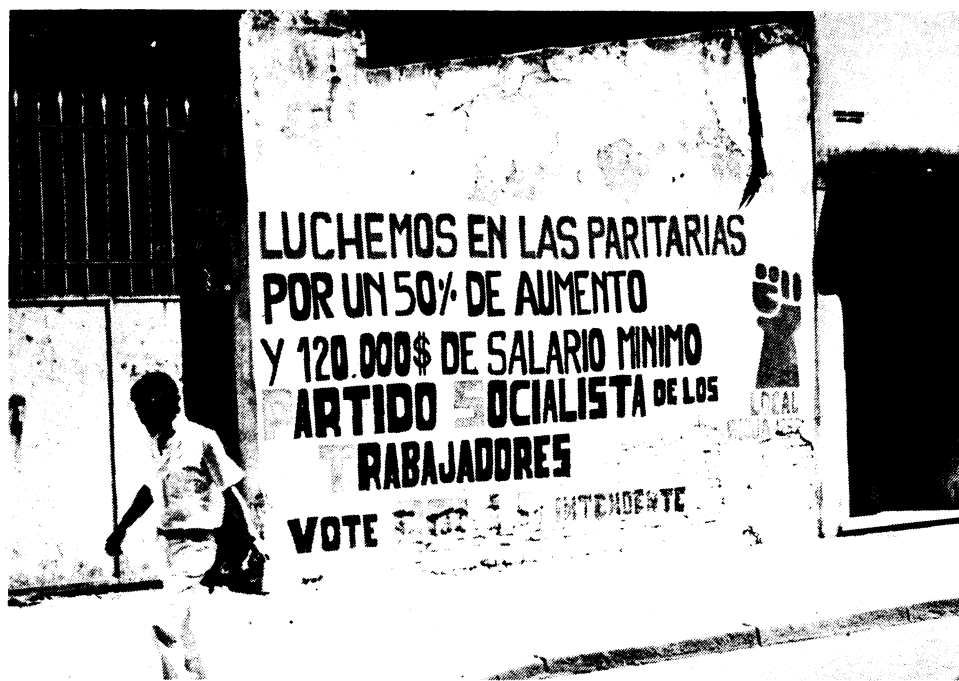
Three months ago, our party did not have a single activist or sympathizer in San Nicolás. For more than 20 years we had wanted to become part of the labor movement in that city, but it had been impossible. The military always screened new workers who went into the factory, taking advantage of the fact that it is an agricultural area, without a working-class tradition. One could only get in with

recommendations from priests or military people.

Our analysis, our line toward the elections, and our program have given us the opportunity to open a large headquarters; build a committee of the Frente Obrero with more than 60 activists and trade-union leaders; build a Juventud Socialista [Socialist Youth group], whose last meeting was attended by 120 young people; put forward an electoral slate with the most recognized militant workers; appear in the pages of the bourgeois press and in local radio and television; and actually lead the occupation of the factory.

One of the party's main leaders, Jorge Mera, leader of the Bank Employees Union and candidate for governor [of Buenos Aires], participated in the occupation as a member of our party. He was the only candidate who intervened and was allowed by the workers to enter the factory.

We think it is important that the facts of the strike and occupation of the factory by the steelworkers of San Nicolás be made known. We insist on this because other key developments in the class struggle in our country, such as the general strike to free our political prisoners in Mar del Plata [see *The Militant*, July 7 and 14, 1972], were only reported in a few revolutionary newspapers and organizations around the world. One may or may not agree with our politics, but the strike and occupation of SOMISA cannot be ignored, the way the only general strike to free political prisoners in the country was ignored. □



PST slogan on wall in city of Rosario calls for a 50 percent wage increase for all workers and a \$120 per month minimum wage.

Luis Gomez tells how steelworkers shut down plant, confronted troops

By Fred Halstead

In January the SOMISA steel complex in San Nicolás, Argentina, was shut down and occupied by the workers for 64 hours. The main organizer of this action was a 40-year-old, six-foot, 200-pound steelworker named Luis Gómez, who is also the candidate for mayor of San Nicolás of the Frente Obrero (Workers Front). Frente Obrero candidates appear on the ballot under the name of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST).

Gómez is not a member of the PST, but is one of hundreds of worker leaders throughout Argentina who have taken advantage of the PST campaign to run for office themselves.

I was able to interview Gómez at his home February 2. Here is how he told the story of the SOMISA strike, which was sparked by the beating of three organizers of a new union at the plant by thugs working for the Peronist union bureaucracy:

On January 18, eighteen of us entered the plant at 5:45 a.m., about 45 minutes before shift change. We started talking to workers in the section where we knew we [the rebel union] had the most strength, then went to other parts of the plant telling workers to stop

and come to that section. We had about 300 there in a short time. With these we went out on the street where the buses pass through the plant and put a big machine shovel there to stop the buses bringing in the first shift workers.

All the workers on the buses joined the stoppage. We just got on each bus saying, "Compañeros, you are now invited to join the movement for a steel union." Then we had 1,500.

We opened the road to let the buses leave the plant empty, telling the drivers to spread the word. We then marched to the far side of the factory with all 1,500, talking to workers on the way. By 6:45 we had 2,500. Finally we went to the administrative offices with about 3,500 workers. By 7:45 all work at SOMISA had stopped.

So there we stayed, near the administrative building for 64 hours and held the plant. . . .

The plant director talked to us. He is a general in the army. He demanded that the workers leave the plant before negotiations. But the workers answered no. A federal judge ordered the stoppage ended or he would call out the army. The workers paid no attention.

But on the third day federal police and army troops appeared with ma-

chine guns, tear gas, and everything of that type. The workers were sitting down when I saw the troops advancing. I called for everyone to stand up.

We had an Argentine flag, which the workers in the front, facing the troops, held up. We started singing the national anthem. I shouted to the troops, "Shoot if you must, but you will be spilling Argentine blood on the Argentine flag." Then the troops stopped.

The commander, Lieutenant Carro, came over to talk. He said "Señores workers, I also am the son of a modest worker, and I understand your struggle. I've always considered myself a worker, and with tears in my eyes I ask you to get out of the factory. I have never spilled Argentine blood and I don't want to now."

This man, who appeared to be some mother's son but obviously is not, then made a solemn promise—"on my honor as an officer"—that if everyone left quietly there would be no reprisals, no one would get fired.

I wanted it in writing, but there was some disagreement among the committee and we had to end the walkout and leave. We had barely gotten home when 13 of us received telegrams saying we had been fired. □

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If you think you really know what's going on in Ireland today, you might try the following test:

- What were the main topics of discussion at the recent convention of the Official Republican movement?

- What are the major differences between the Officials and the Provisionals today?

- What is the strength of the Republicans, and the nationalist population, in the North today?

- Insofar as their political outlook is concerned, what important changes have occurred in the Official ranks?

If you were able to answer these questions correctly, you probably read the *United Irishman*, *An Phoblacht*, the *Starry Plough*, the *Irish Times*, and several Gaelic-language monthlies. Either that, or you read *Intercontinental Press*.

If you flunked the test, we'd like to suggest a subscription to *Intercontinental Press*. It's the only American weekly that consistently covers movements like the struggle to free Ireland. Besides news analysis and interviews, *Intercontinental Press* regularly publishes the documents of the struggle itself. Send \$7.50 for six months.

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Contract offered in Philadelphia after 51-day teachers strike

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 28—After 51 days on strike teachers here will vote tomorrow on the terms of a proposed four-year contract. Yesterday, a tentative settlement was announced by union and city negotiators. The agreement was reached just one day before a scheduled half-day general strike called by some 40 labor unions, led by the Philadelphia AFL-CIO executive council. The general strike was called Feb. 21 to support the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT).

Today, some 8,000 teachers met at the University of Pennsylvania convention center to consider the contract, but a vote was postponed until tomorrow morning. There was no discussion at today's meeting—not because teachers didn't want to discuss the proposed settlement, but because no microphones had been set up on the floor, and because copies of the contract were not made available to members until an hour and a half before the center had to be vacated.

The terms of the proposed contract contain concessions on both sides. The PFT had demanded a package amounting to \$85-million over three years. The board of education offer was \$42-million. The proposed contract runs for four years and will give the teachers an estimated \$68.6-million, with \$50.2-million coming in the first three years. How this will be distributed is still unclear.

The proposed contract, which is retroactive to September, includes wage increases of only 4 percent each year. The teachers had asked for a 6.7 percent increase in wages and benefits.

Class size would remain the same until September 1975, and then would be reduced from 35 to 33. The union had demanded an immediate reduction to 32.

Demands for wage parity for teachers in the "Get Set" program for pre-school children and for preparatory periods for elementary school teachers would be achieved in 1974. The contract also calls for a five-minute extension of the high school day.

The city government of Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo had done its best to break the strike. It obtained an injunction that led to the jailing of PFT President Frank Sullivan, and the union's chief negotiator, John Ryan, and hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines for the PFT. (Sullivan and Ryan were released on bail after the proposed settlement, but their contempt sentences remain in effect pending an appeal.)

Moreover, city officials tried to whip up antiunion sentiment and to play off the Black community against the teachers. Rizzo even went on radio and TV, accusing the striking teachers of "blackmail." These tactics backfired, however, after the city resorted to mass arrests of picketing teachers.

The arrests of some 800 teachers finally forced the Philadelphia labor movement to call a work stoppage in support of the teachers.

AFL-CIO President George Meany was worried by the developments in Philadelphia too. He sent two aides to report on the strike for him, and asked President Nixon to send in a federal mediator. Nixon responded by sending Under Secretary of Labor William Usery into the negotiations last week.

A labor rally in support of the PFT Feb. 25 drew about 5,000 unionists from more than 20 states, including Hawaii, as well as representatives from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Contingents of hotel workers, farm workers, taxi drivers, hospital

workers, and government employees were present along with teachers.

James Farmer, a former director of the Congress of Racial Equality, gave the keynote address and emphasized support for the strike from 60 Philadelphia Black civic organizations. As the teachers contingents poured in, chants of "No contract, no work," and the singing of traditional union songs such as "Solidarity Forever" and "Which Side Are You On?" intensified the atmosphere of solidarity.

The uneasiness of the labor officials in the face of the government attack on the PFT was shown by the remarks at the rally of Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Wurf complained: "I don't understand why a settlement can't be reached. This is the only trade union movement in the free world that does not call for the overthrow of the system. Why are they doing this to us?"

The extreme viciousness of Rizzo's strikebreaking drive posed a clear threat to the entire union movement in Philadelphia and forced the bureaucrats of the local AFL-CIO into the unusual act of a solidarity strike. The union officials were unenthusiastic about the action and were hoping all along that they wouldn't be forced to carry it out.

In spite of their reluctance, it is clear that the threat of a united labor action in the streets of Philadelphia played a major role in forcing the city administration to bargain more seriously and give up their attempt to hand the union a total defeat. The tremendous power that can be wielded by the union movement was demonstrated for all to see.



Striking teachers demonstrate in Philadelphia

Police terror continues in Detroit

Cops beat Black man to death

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, Feb. 27—The issue of STRESS (Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Safe Streets), Detroit's police terror squad, continues to dominate the news headlines here.

Today, some 80 to 100 people, mostly Blacks, responded to a call for an emergency picket line at the police headquarters. The action, called by the newly formed Coalition to Abolish STRESS, protested the beating to death of Robert Slaughter, 29, by Detroit police.

Detroit police claimed Slaughter assaulted them when they stopped his car and asked him to identify some photos of two alleged police killers. After shooting him in the leg they handcuffed him. They claimed he became "violent" at this point and they had to "subdue" him.

Detroit General Hospital listed the cause of death as injuries to the head caused by beating. He was in a coma

six days before he died. A photograph in the Feb. 24 *Michigan Chronicle* showed that Slaughter had been savagely beaten about the head and face.

The news conference to call the picket and the picket itself were extensively covered by the city's news media. WCHB, a Black station, urged Blacks to attend and "make your own signs."

The Coalition to Abolish STRESS was formed out of the series of hearings called by the broadly based Black Commission of Inquiry into police terror. It has called for a mass demonstration in April when Detroit's common council meets to discuss the police budget. The action will demand that the STRESS unit be abolished.

In other developments, it was reported that John Boyd and Mark Bethune, accused of shooting STRESS officers, were killed in separate shoot-outs by Atlanta police. Detroit police unleashed the recent wave of terror against the Black community after

Boyd and Bethune allegedly shot the STRESS cops.

A third Black accused of the killings, Hayward Brown, 18, was arrested by Detroit police Jan. 12. Attorney Kenneth Cockrel announced Feb. 3 that Brown would plead self-defense. April 16 has been set for the trial date.

In a related development, Circuit Court Judge Thomas Foley ruled that Detroit police must have search warrants when entering homes unless in "hot pursuit." He extended an earlier injunction against police harassment to cover all Detroit citizens.

The ruling came in a suit brought by Ernest Goodman, prominent Detroit attorney, and argued by Tom Meyers, vice-president of the Detroit chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. The suit was brought for seven relatives and friends of John Boyd, Mark Bethune, and Hayward Brown, who had been harassed by police in search for the three.

Newark racists attack Blacks at project

By BAXTER SMITH

FEB. 26—Newark racists seem determined to continue disrupting the construction of Kawaida Towers. Kawaida Towers will be a low-to-middle-income housing project in the city's North Ward, which is 30 percent Black and Puerto Rican.

The site was cleared in September, and the foundation was under way by October. But work on the project has been idled since Nov. 9 by whites who oppose it. They oppose the project's size and the nationalist philosophy of the Temple of Kawaida, which is sponsoring the project.

The contractor for the project claims his hands are tied because his men have been "intimidated" by the picketers. The police have refused to halt the actions of pickets, who on numerous occasions have disrupted the workers' efforts.

But on Feb. 21, six Black laborers entered the construction site to pump water from the concrete foundation and clean up the site. They were escorted there by a group of Black supporters from the Temple of Kawaida. The supporters are anxious to resume work on the project and decided to create a "task force" to escort the workers onto the site each day.

The following day, Blacks who attempted to escort several reporters onto the site were jumped and beaten by a gang of pickets. Ninety cops, armed with clubs, joined the pickets.

Cheo Mfuasi, president of Kawaida Towers, Inc., said the situation "was created by the police moving in on us as we passed through the crowd." Mfuasi, according to the Feb. 23 *New York Times*, "was dragged up a nearby driveway and held on the ground by two men as a third kicked him in the head." He was then grabbed and frisked by some cops as a woman with an American flag on a nearby porch yelled: "Kill them! Get them out of here!"

After the fighting ended, three people were arrested—all Blacks—for "provoking" the pickets.

Speaking at a news conference Feb. 24, Baraka accused the police of attacking the Blacks. He called for the suspension of the cops involved and declared that members of the Temple of Kawaida would be at the site every day in the coming week to see that the workers get in.

It is expected to take several more days to clean up the site before it will be ready for full construction crews. Imperiale seems confident that the white construction workers will side with him: "The real test will come when they call for construction workers. The tradesmen will not cross our picket line."



White pickets jump Black at Kawaida Towers.

NEW BOOK SAYS GOV'T 'NOT GUILTY'

WHO ASSASSINATED MALCOLM X?

By GEORGE BREITMAN

A large part of Peter Goldman's book, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* (Harper & Row, \$8.95), is devoted to the assassination of Malcolm in February 1965, the ensuing police investigation, and the trial where three men were convicted of the crime in 1966. Here these subjects get the most extensive treatment they have had in any book to date.

Unfortunately, Goldman is hobbled by a thesis he is determined to prove: he did not believe when he began his inquiries, and he does not believe today, that the U.S. government had or could have had any hand in the assassination. He finds the government and its police not guilty, and he accepts their version that Malcolm was killed by three members of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims), at the instigation of unnamed officials of the Nation (although he admits that the prosecution's version of the events as presented in the court was somewhat "tidied up").

"My inquiry," he tells us, "was limited by my own resources, and no doubt also by my color, class, politics and a certain irremediable skepticism about conspiratorialist explanations of events where nonconspiratorialist explanations appear to be adequate." The factors that reinforced his "skepticism" were undoubtedly his middle-class outlook and the liberal politics that flows so naturally from it.

Goldman simply can't believe that the government would do such a thing as participate in the murder of Malcolm. Granted that the government didn't like him, and granted that it gets dangerous people out of the way; it does this, however, he says, "not by some conspiratorial grand design and not ordinarily by murdering them" but through "the far more common sanctions" of "prison and/or exile."

This expression of faith in the non-murderous character of the government is very touching, and explains a lot about Goldman. But it doesn't prove anything. The government usually resorts to frame-up and prison, but it isn't restricted to them. Not long before Malcolm's death the government approved the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem, president of South Vietnam. Was Malcolm's life more sacred in the government's eyes than Diem's? All that need be said on this subject is that while assassination is not the government's normal method of repression, it is one of its methods. Excluding this possibility is not a promising way to begin an investigation of Malcolm's assassination.

While Goldman merely exonerates the government, he positively glows with admiration for the police and prosecutors who prepared the case for trial. Some of them gave him interviews for this book, and they emerge as salt of the earth. Oh, a little cynical perhaps, a little too inclined to cut corners, but otherwise splendid chaps: dedicated to the cause of justice ("Hardly anybody slept at all the first two or three nights, and after that you napped at the squad or Manhattan North when you could and got home long enough to shower and change clothes and just miss seeing the kids off to school"), hard-working (Detective Keeley "worked sixteen hours a day, seven days a week for seven straight weeks before he got his first day off"), generous to the point of self-sacrifice (Goldman thinks they pay with cash out of their own

pockets for tips from informers, his evidence being one detective who told him, "I put out maybe a thousand dollars for stoolies [in the Malcolm investigation]. A case like that can put you in the poorhouse.").

All in all, Goldman says, "they conducted a conscientious investigation under extraordinarily difficult circumstances." But at most his book shows why the jury voted to convict the three

the four lawyers for the two Black Muslim defendants, Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson. To show that they lacked "the cash for a wide-ranging investigation," Goldman mentions that these four were "court-appointed at the statutory fee of \$2,000 per man." But he misses the main point of the fact he cites.

In New York, as in most big cities, court-appointment jobs are viewed by

Talmadge Hayer. Hayer had confessed his own part in the murder but wouldn't name his accomplices. He did say, however, that they were not Butler and Johnson.

So Goldman's "skepticism" spares the defense counsel as well as the government and the police. It is reserved almost exclusively for the "true disbelievers," those who reject the government's version and suspect the government and the police were involved in the murder conspiracy. He lumps together all who will not accept the government version; in his opinion they are all irrational or dishonest.

But he singles out as the "principal conspiratorialist treatments" articles published in *The Militant* and written by me in 1965, a few months after the assassination, and by Herman Porter in 1966, during the trial (together published as a pamphlet entitled *The Assassination of Malcolm X*) and an article by Eric Norden in *The Realist*, February 1967. "Breitman-Porter is the soberer, Norden the more fanciful," Goldman writes; "both are wanting in objective reporting and both accordingly are stuck with the fictitious Second Suspect as the major single piece of 'evidence' of a state conspiracy."

But Goldman has labored in vain if he thinks his book will persuade rational and honest people to swallow the government version or give the government and police a clean bill of health. Before explaining why, I want to review the way he has answered or discussed some of the questions that we raised in 1965 and 1966.

The Second Suspect

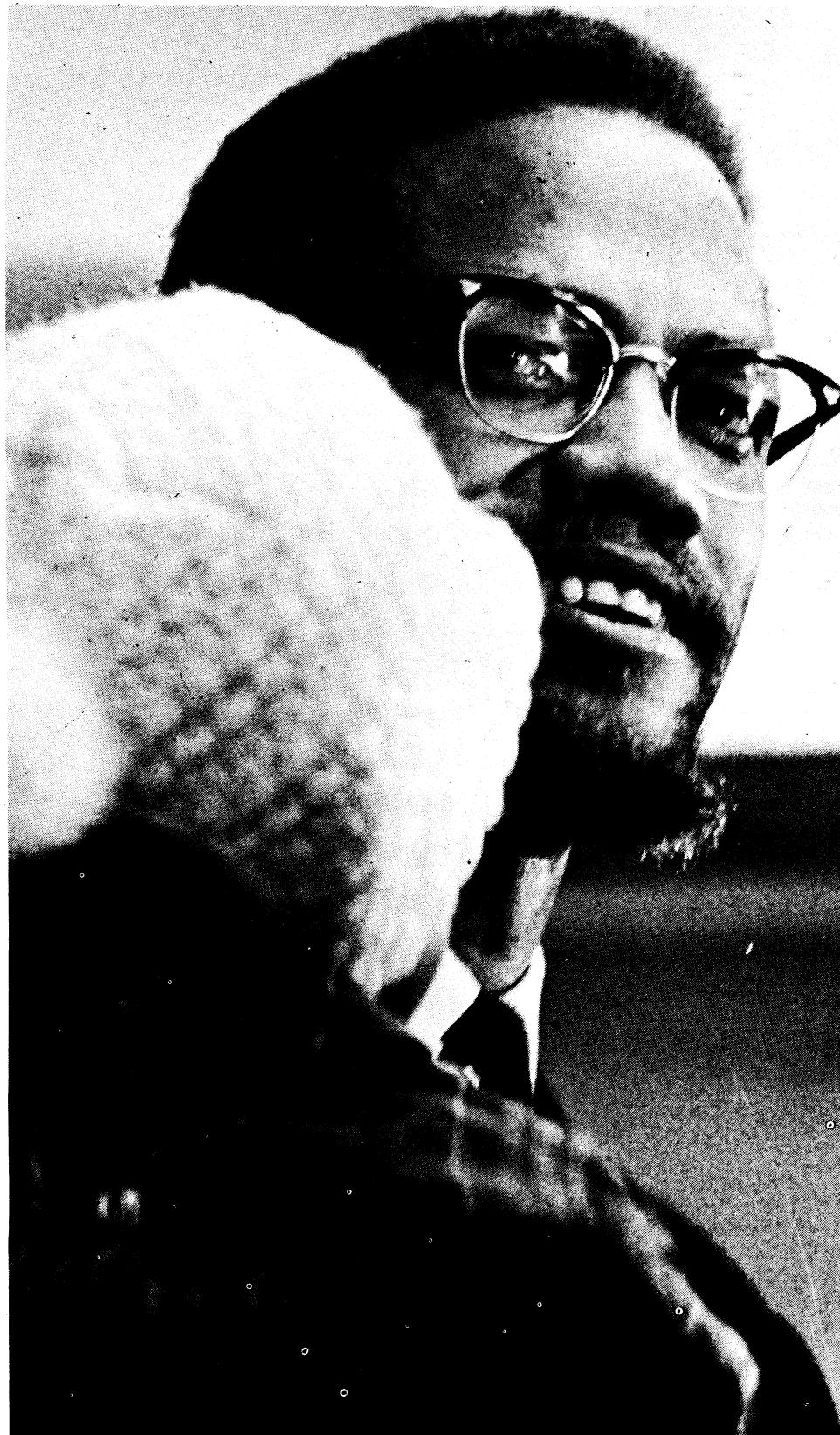
On the night of the assassination, the three New York morning papers all reported that two suspects had been arrested at the Audubon Ballroom: Talmadge Hayer by two cops in a scout car that happened accidentally to be passing by, and an unnamed person by Patrolman Thomas Hoy, the only policeman stationed outside the Audubon at the time of the killing. The second editions of these same papers all changed their stories, stating only that Hayer had been captured and not even mentioning the second man. In fact, they never mentioned him again.

Thinking that to be an unusual journalistic procedure, I asked publicly for an explanation. To my knowledge none was ever given in print before Goldman's book. The prosecution's version at the trial, of course, was that only one man had been arrested at the Audubon—Hayer. But it did not call Patrolman Hoy as a witness (neither did the defense).

Now Goldman tells us that it was all a journalistic mix-up—that the man Hoy caught was the same one that the other two cops took into custody. He does not provide details, although his book has room for much trivia, and he does not explain why none of the newspapers bothered to make an explicit correction at the time. But even so, Goldman's version is not reasonable: it could have happened the way he says. Granting that, however, is not the same as granting that the "second suspect" is "the major single piece of 'evidence' of a state conspiracy."

The French events

Twelve days before his assassination Malcolm flew to Paris to speak at a meeting, as he had done three months before without incident. This time he was barred from the country as "undesirable." The French government's explanation was that Malcolm's speech



Robert Parent

men indicted by the government, and even that isn't done with complete adequacy.

The prosecution had many advantages at the trial—plentiful funds and personnel to work up a case and "tidy it up." Its access to state power enabled it to threaten witnesses with arrest if they did not "cooperate"; Goldman more than hints at its use in connection with the fire-bombing of the Black Muslim mosque shortly after the assassination. The police actually did imprison its chief witness for almost a year before the trial, dropping charges against him after he cooperated at the trial. They also benefited strongly from the then widespread prejudice against the Black Muslims.

But the chief advantage the prosecution had was the defense counsel's incompetence and unwillingness to fight. This was particularly true of

all concerned as political plums, despite the relatively low fee. They are given to reliable people, that is, people who do not rock the boat. They don't get such plums from the dominant political machine by trying to prove in court, for example, that the government and police are in collusion in an assassination; if they do that once, they do it knowing they'll never get such an appointment again.

That was why these court-appointed lawyers had to cook up the theory, accepted by hardly anyone but the Black Muslims and Bayard Rustin, that Malcolm had been killed by disgruntled members of his own organization. That was why these lawyers did such a poor job in cross-examining the well-coached witnesses for the prosecution. That—and not the compelling logic of the prosecution's case—was basically why the jury voted to convict Butler, Johnson, and

could have "provoked demonstrations that would trouble the public order." After the assassination Malcolm's friends in Paris charged that the French government really had barred him because it thought he would be assassinated on French soil and did not want to bear the onus for such a scandal.

Calling it an unverified rumor, I reported this charge in *The Militant* and asked the press to check it out. If the charge was true, I said, it was important to know why the French government expected a murder attempt, from whom it expected one, and where it got its information. One thing was certain—the Black Muslims did not have the resources to organize an assassination in France.

Goldman rejects the implications from that fact, which pointed to possible CIA complicity. "A more credible version," he writes, "was that the French acted on the representation of two of their lately liberated colonies, Senegal and the Ivory Coast, that Malcolm—aided and abetted by Nasser and Nkrumah—might try to overthrow moderate, pro-Western governments like their own." Goldman can only deplore the French government's "lack of official candor" and the "tact that forbade anyone's saying so [about Senegal and the Ivory Coast] at the time" because these things have "nourished the conspiratorialist theory of Malcolm's assassination ever since. . . ."

This version is not only more credible (to Goldman) but later he elevates it a little and calls it "most probable." For evidence, he tells us that his account "is based on unpublished reporting in *Newsweek's* files." But we aren't told who did the reporting, where the reporters got their information, and why (besides "tact") the reporting was not published.

Gullible people may accept this kind of stuff, but others will say it's no more convincing than the kind of evidence Goldman rejects as flimsy when advanced by "conspiratorialists." On the face of it, Goldman's version is no more credible than the one put forward by Malcolm's friends in Paris. He has merely suggested another possibility. When I do that, and my possibility points toward the government, that's conspiratorialist; when he does it, and his possibility points away from the government, it's objective reporting, or something of that sort.

Were Butler & Johnson there?

I wrote in 1965 that I did not know if Butler and Johnson had any connection with the assassination but strongly doubted they had themselves been present in the Audubon. They were Black Muslims well known to Malcolm's people and therefore could expect to be stopped at the door, questioned, and probably searched by the guards if they had tried to enter the meeting hall.

At the trial the prosecution produced witnesses who swore they saw Butler and Johnson present and shooting at Malcolm. But knowing how the prosecution obtained such testimony and reading of the many contradictions

in that testimony leaves me still dubious. It is not impossible that they were present, but to believe it I would have to see or hear some evidence that *they* thought they would be admitted, and a theory explaining *why* they thought so.

This is one of several questions we raised before the trial that were not answered satisfactorily at the trial, and that Goldman concedes are still unanswered or troubling today. But they don't trouble him enough to affect his final verdict. When he mentions them, it's proof of his open-mindedness and objectivity. When we mention them, it's proof of paranoia, distortion, etc.

To summarize: Goldman scores a few points, suggests new possibilities

the man from BOSS told Goldman, "as far as I was concerned, that took us off the hook."

Talmadge Hayer, it is safe to assume, was a member of the murder gang. Whether some or all of the other members were Black Muslims, or ex-Black Muslims, we cannot say, but in this context that question is not decisive. The important thing was that at some point it was decided to proceed with the Malcolm killing. The BOSS agent or agents, assuming for the sake of argument that they were involved, might have taken the initiative in this decision; at the least they would have supported it and made themselves useful in obtaining weapons, devising tactics, raising morale, and encouraging the project in

one of Malcolm's guards had not shot him in the leg.)

The CIA/BOSS officials did not have to organize a murder gang from scratch and in their own name—they found one ready-made. This was an advantage because the participants (except for the agent or agents) wouldn't even know whose interests they were serving. (In this case, the full story may not be disclosed even if Talmadge Hayer decides to talk.) The CIA/BOSS officials did not have to give the order, "Kill Malcolm." All they had to do was let their agents proceed as usual, and wait for the bloody outcome. They were "off the hook" after their offer of police protection was rejected. But that particular assassination might have been stopped if they had tried to stop it, and therefore they were just as guilty of the assassination as the men who pulled the triggers.

This "scenario" explains many things that are otherwise inexplicable—why the killers were so audacious, why 17 of the 20 cops in the special detail assigned to the Audubon were so far from the scene of the crime, why the government felt no qualms about prosecuting Hayer once he was caught at the scene, why it did not produce any BOSS agents as witnesses at the trial, why it did not produce the Malcolm guard charged with shooting Hayer, and many others. It may also help explain why the police publicly accused Malcolm of having firebombed his own home when his family was asleep in it a week before the assassination. And it definitely disposes of many objections like the so-called "clincher": *Can you imagine the CIA hiring somebody like Hayer?*—because Hayer didn't have to be paid by the CIA to do what the CIA wanted done.

So the argument pointing to the CIA and the police is much more plausible than Goldman makes it out to be in his book, and it is not at all exploded by minor corrections about such things as the second suspect. Goldman knows that the cops sat back and did nothing to prevent the assassination; in fact, he criticizes them several times for precisely this. What he does not do, what he does not dare to do, is to think through *why* they sat back and to consider how those reasons tie up with both the facts and possibilities in this case. In that sense his book is irresponsible: its effect is to lessen the chances of uncovering the whole truth.

Malcolm X's high place in history is already assured; it does not depend on what is said, one way or another, about the details of his assassination. But the cause for which he gave his life requires that there be no let-up in the demand for the full truth about the role of the government and the police in his assassination. It is a sign of the weakness of the current Black liberation and radical movements that they have not established an authoritative commission of inquiry to explore and report on the whole story, instead of leaving the initiative to inadequate attempts like Goldman's. Let us hope that the full story can be known and told before the coming of the revolution that will open the files of the CIA and BOSS.



Malcolm being taken to hospital after shooting.

Robert Parent

on some, and misses the mark altogether on others. That he fails in his main objective I shall now try to show by presenting a "scenario" of the assassination that is not in contradiction with any of the facts reported in his book.

Around a month before the assassination the police learned of a plot to kill Malcolm. (That's what they said.) How they learned they never said. It could be they learned about it because one or more agents of the conspiracy were members of the police. (It is known that they had infiltrated agents into the Nation of Islam, Malcolm's organizations and other militant groups. One of these, Gene Roberts, became part of the top OAAU leadership, it was revealed in 1970 at the New York Black Panther trial.)

The Bureau of Special Services (BOSS), which was the name of the New York secret police agency at the time, must have communicated this information to Washington, that is, the CIA, because the CIA's keen interest in Malcolm was publicly known. We can assume that the CIA was consulted on and approved, if it did not suggest, the policy then pursued by the BOSS officials, which was to offer Malcolm police protection after having concluded he would have to reject it for political reasons. When Malcolm or a lieutenant did refuse,

other ways. (This is precisely what the BOSS agent was doing then in the concurrent "Statue of Liberty conspiracy.")

The CIA/BOSS officials did not try to break up the murder gang. On the contrary, they told their agent(s) to proceed with business as usual, that is, to help the plot develop. The agent(s) provided the weapons and—more important—inside information (from BOSS agents in the OAAU) about the OAAU and its security methods, and an assassination plan in accord with that information that offered a good possibility that all of the killers could escape after the murder. (They all did, except Hayer, who might well have gotten away too if

BUT WHAT DID THEY HAVE FOR DESSERT?

"... The defense knew... that the prosecution had led with its best card and that they hadn't trumped it. '[Prosecution witness Cary] Thomas,' one defense lawyer told me, 'was—' He stopped, looking absently into the remains of a Chinese lunch between us, trying to think of the best word. 'Vindictive,' he said at length. And tough? The lawyer dipped into a plate of fried noodles and nibbled at a couple of them. 'Yeah,' he agreed. 'The toughest.'" — *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*, by Peter Goldman.

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Two Speeches by Malcolm X, 50 cents.

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Austin SWP campaign fights for 19-year-old's place on ballot

By DEREK JEFFERS

AUSTIN, Texas—Incumbent Austin city councilman Dick Nichols announced at a press conference here Feb. 20, "I must say that a major factor in my decision to file for reelection is the spectre of a self-proclaimed socialist in my seat on the council."

Jim Burfeind, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council place 2, is the socialist Dick Nichols referred to.

Burfeind issued a response to the press the same day, saying it was the spectre of Dick Nichols on the council for another two years that was really frightening to the people of Austin.

Nichols boasted he would seek reelection "with the solid backing of the solid citizens of Austin." Burfeind replied that Nichols should not expect "solid backing" from "the Blacks and Chicanos of East Austin who suffer constant harassment by the police, or women or the University of Texas students or the working people of Austin, whose interests and rights Nichols ignores."

Burfeind and the entire Socialist Workers city campaign got extensive coverage from Nichols's statement and Burfeind's answer.

That same day, Burfeind appeared before a Texas Senate Subcommittee to protest the state sodomy statute. His statement was reported in the Feb. 23 edition of the city's major daily, the *Austin American*: "Instead of jailing gays, employers who refuse to hire gays or give them lower paying jobs should be jailed."

To hold a city council office in Austin, a candidate must be at least 21 years old. SWP candidate for place 5 on the council, Steven Fuchs, is only 19. Fuchs attended the Feb. 22 city council meeting and proposed that the council put an amendment on the April 7 ballot to drop city charter restrictions on who may hold city council office.

Fuchs also asked that the council vote to appeal to the city attorney not to rule him off the ballot. He asked, "Does Mr. Friedman [his opponent in the race] and the other council members believe the people have the right to decide who should be on the city council, or do they believe the council has the right to use its position to keep some of its opponents in the race off the ballot?"

"If we were to keep off the ballot those who cannot deal with the problems of the people of the city," Fuchs said, "it would not be me or Melissa Singler or Jim Burfeind, the other Socialist Workers candidates, who would be kept off the ballot. It would be the seven people sitting before me, who have clearly shown in the last



Linda Jenness addressing Austin campaign kickoff rally, Feb. 9.

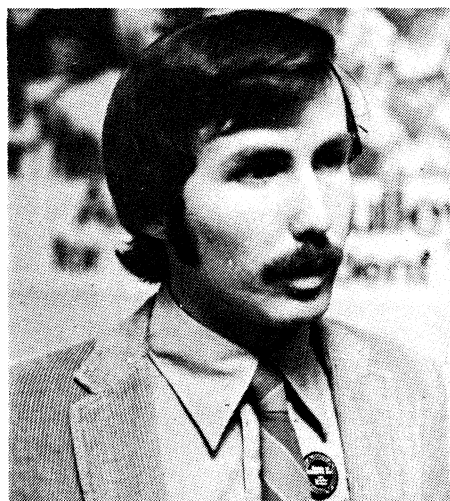
Militant/Derek Jeffers

20 months they are incapable of solving our problems."

The Feb. 23 *Austin American* described what happened after Fuchs finished reading his statement. Council member Dr. Bud Dryden told him, "I am perfectly capable of solving your problem," and made a motion that the council not place the question of the age restriction on the ballot.

All except Friedman voted in favor of Dryden's motion. Friedman abstained because the issue "was strictly political and because Fuchs had filed as a candidate" against him.

When the roll call vote was concluded, Fuchs announced that the So-



Jim Burfeind

cialist Workers Party would fight for his right to be on the ballot, through the courts if necessary. He asked the members of the council to sign cards he distributed saying they supported his democratic right to be on the ballot. They refused.

That night, Fuchs spoke at a meeting of 65 people at the University of Texas in a program in tribute to Malcolm X.

Also that night, the city council held a public hearing on an ordinance Friedman had proposed to supposedly protect consumers against fraud. The ordinance would establish a

board that would include employers and would fine firms found guilty of fraud.

Melissa Singler, SWP candidate for mayor, attended the hearing. She explained that rather than expect businessmen to police themselves, working people, who suffer most from consumer fraud, should organize their own committees to control the bosses' greed for super-profits.

A major part of the Austin SWP campaign has been the demand of improved conditions in the Travis County jail and the democratic rights for its prisoners. The candidates wrote a letter to the county sheriff, Raymond Frank, asking to tour the jail. Frank himself called the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters to inform the candidates they would be given a tour of the jail.

Complementing the gains made through the Austin Socialist Workers city campaign has been the success of the Young Socialist Alliance campus election campaign. Sally Armstrong, a member of the Austin YSA executive committee, became the first University of Texas YSAer ever to win a campus-wide election.

The YSA has previously won posts in student government from individual schools and now has three members serving in the university student senate.

Armstrong won the student at-large position on the Texas Student Publication board.

Armstrong ran on a program calling for complete student control of the *Texan* and a TSP board composed entirely of students. She called for the board to encourage the *Texan* to use its pages to build the student movement and to cover all candidates in the elections. She called for support to the board's decision to prohibit sexist ads.

Armstrong will also be running for student senate from the school of natural sciences.

Fein hits Houston's new bond issue

HOUSTON, Feb. 24—Voters here today passed a \$145-million bond that gives the city a green light to make some modest improvements in the parks, streets and sewers. The bond also provides for \$5-million to the police department.

Under the slogan "Turnout For Bonds, It won't tax you extra," the Community Improvement Committee spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on billboards and ads on radio and TV and in the newspapers. The committee was initiated by the Houston Chamber of Commerce and Mayor Welch.

The Houston Socialist Workers Campaign urged a "no" vote on the bonds at a city hall news conference Feb. 21. One TV station, six radio stations, and the *Houston Chronicle* covered the news conference.

In a statement issued today, Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, explained how the new bond issue would continue to shift the costs of financing the city onto the backs of working people:

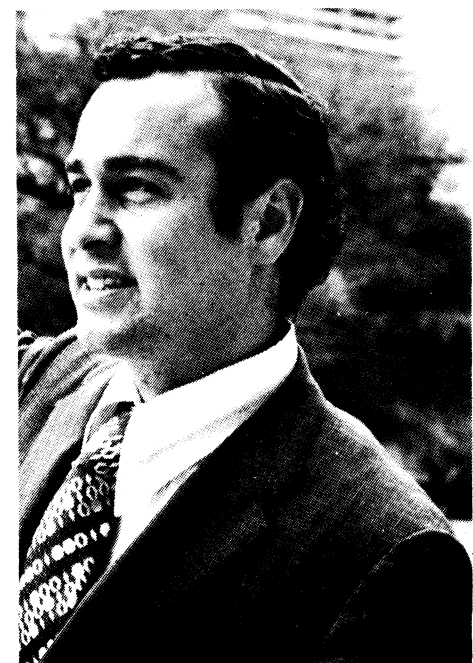
"Houston's tax structure is not unlike that of other cities. The biggest sources of revenue are the property and sales taxes. However, the city comptroller, Leonel Castillo, has admitted that the big businesses know how to wheel and deal to pay less property tax than the law requires.

"By far the biggest portion of the property tax is from working people who own mortgaged homes. The property tax adds up to \$60-\$70-million annually.

"Houston's sales tax is 3 percent, which of course hits workers hardest. This brings in about \$35-million annually. Together with a franchise tax that only utility companies have to pay, these sources of revenue account for more than 90 percent of the city's income.

"No wonder employers like Houston. They benefit from city improvements but pay hardly anything. Only 15 percent of the work force in Houston is unionized. Many workers do not even receive the \$1.60 minimum wage. Undocumented workers (the so-called 'illegal aliens') are forced to accept starvation wages or not be allowed to work.

"Houston is no longer referred to as a 'booming city' with 'low' unemployment. It has joined other large cities with an unemployment rate greater than 5 percent."



Dan Fein

RUP gains in La Puente, Cal., vote

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—In the first Raza Unida Party (RUP) campaign effort in La Puente, Calif., Ernie Torras, candidate for city council, ran third in a field of four. In the election held Feb. 13, he polled 250 votes, compared with the 900 the winning candidate received.

"We didn't lose," Torras told *The Militant*, "we gained." One of the issues the campaign raised was the lack of Chicano representation in city government. Chicanos make up 48 percent of the population of La Puente, an industrial suburb of 25,000 east

of Los Angeles, but there is only one Chicano on the Anglo businessman-dominated city council. The RUP was campaigning to put a "real Chicano" on the council, not just a Democrat," said Torras.

Before the election Torras told *La Raza Cosmica*, a local Chicano paper, "My primary concern in the campaign will be to let the community know what La Raza Unida stands for. If the party recruits two active persons, I will consider the campaign a success."

Torras grew up in an East Los Angeles barrio where he was a mem-

ber of a street gang, the Hazards. Since then he has a long record of working with Chicano youth. He decided to become active in Raza Unida and run for office so he could "tell it like it is," about the lack of meaningful activities for Chicano youth. "The Democrats weren't doing anything," he points out.

According to campaign workers, only about 4 percent of Chicanos registered to vote actually cast ballots. In Torras's opinion this is an indication of a tremendous lack of faith in the electoral process in the Chicano community.

Norman Oliver tells NYC Black Assembly: 'We need an independent political party'

By GINNY HILDEBRAND

NEW YORK — On Feb. 24, State Assemblyman Jesse Gray became the second Black candidate to enter the New York mayoralty race. The first to announce was Norman Oliver, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Gray will be running in the Democratic primary.

This was announced at a news conference sponsored by the New York Black Assembly, whose leaders are throwing their support behind Gray. The assembly is a formation that grew out of the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., last March.

What turned out to be a news conference for Gray had previously been advertised as an open convention for Black New Yorkers to select the mayoral candidate the Black Assembly would endorse. Oliver's name had been placed in nomination earlier in the week, and he was invited to present his program and candidacy to the assembly at the Feb. 24 meeting.

When Oliver and several campaign supporters arrived, the surprise news conference was about to begin. The previous day, the executive board of the Black Assembly had met and selected Gray as the assembly's candidate.

State Senator Waldaba Stewart introduced Gray to the reporters. When asked why he was running, Gray said he was the only man who could unite New York. Others spoke in support of the assemblyman, including Joseph Waller, a Black leader from Florida who is running for mayor in St. Petersburg on an independent ticket.

Oliver's statement to the press and the 50 people who had shown up to hear the nominees and choose a candidate was an unwelcome surprise to the executive board members. Oliver urged the assembly to reject the concept that a handful of Black Democratic leaders should meet behind closed doors and select a candidate for the Black community to support.

Oliver stated, "These leaders may be more knowledgeable about wheeling and dealing in government, but they aren't the most knowledgeable about day-to-day needs and desires of Black people. The masses of Black people are the experts on this."



Norman Oliver speaking at Brooklyn College meeting

Militant/Alan Becker

"I suggest the Black Assembly take the initiative to involve community organizations that are now actively struggling for better conditions in a discussion about the most effective way Blacks can participate in the elections."

"No Democratic or Republican politician is going to improve, let alone solve, this city's problems. We know this because they have held office year after year and the situation has continued to get worse."

"These officeholders are in the service of big business, real estate sharks, and other blood-sucking parasites on our community. The time has come for us to break with their lies! We must break with their racist policies! What we need is our own independent party. . . . I'm not suggesting

a Black version of the Democratic Party that would just try to get Blacks elected to office."

"What is needed is a new type of party rooted among the activists in the community that could inspire and mobilize hundreds of thousands of Black people into a powerful political force fighting against our oppression. As an independent force that refuses to give its energies and votes to either the Democrats or Republicans, we could exert far more pressure for our interests than we can by hitching up to one of the great white hopes. If the Black Assembly were to take this step, I can promise you that my party would back the effort 100 percent."

A few days earlier, Oliver and Eva Chertov, SWP candidate for Council District 3, spoke to a public meeting on budget cutbacks for school District 2. Several state and city officials also spoke and offered neither hope nor a plan of action to implement the community school board's proposed \$40-million minimal budget.

They passed the buck by saying either that they didn't know where the money could come from or else that the community's lack of organized political pressure was responsible for the budget cutbacks. At the beginning about 400 residents attended the meeting. But they left in droves out of dissatisfaction with the answers and recommendations of the legislators.



Eva Chertov

Militant/John Lauritsen

When Oliver and Chertov were allowed to speak toward the end of the meeting, they challenged the hypocrisy of these elected "representatives." The SWP candidates pointed out that the problem is not that there's not enough money, but that adequate education is not a priority in this country.

Oliver stated that 28 percent of each tax dollar is wasted in the U.S. military budget. Several million dollars from New York City taxes go to banks for interest payments on municipal bonds. The New York subways have been paid for several times over, but still New Yorkers' money goes to enrich bankers while the subways deteriorate and schools go inadequately funded.

He explained that \$6-million of revenue sharing money earmarked for education programs in poor schools has been taken by Lindsay to finance expansion of the police department.

The SWP candidates pointed to the example of parents in Districts 1 and 4 who are organizing to fight for the necessary money to improve education. The candidates cited the Democrats and Republicans and their government agencies as obstacles to obtaining quality education for the poor.

Oliver also spoke at meetings at three New York City campuses and one high school this week. At the Brooklyn College meeting at which 14 people endorsed the SWP '73 Campaign, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Brooklyn College Young Socialists for Oliver announced they were running two candidates for the student assembly, Diane Shur and Dennis Brasky.

The Third World Federation, a coalition of Third World groups formed during last spring's student government elections to challenge the reactionary Jewish Defense League's control of the student government, is also running a slate. The socialist and Third World Federation slates have agreed to endorse each other's campaign.

Oliver will be visiting Brooklyn College during this week of heavy student government campaigning to lend his support to both slates.

Set endorser drive, conference

How Cleveland Young Socialists campaign

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, Feb. 27 — Last week, the Young Socialists for Scherr, supporters of the campaign of Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, launched a drive to collect 250 campaign endorsements this spring.

The Young Socialists for Scherr endorser cards are being circulated on all the campuses and in many high schools in the Cleveland area in an effort to get radical young people to support the socialist alternative in 1973.

According to the *Young Socialists for Scherr Newsletter*, a bimonthly publication of the Cleveland socialist campaign, 50 endorsers were collected in the first week.

David Paparello, one of three Young Socialists for Scherr coordinators, said, "The first thing we found was how easy it is to obtain endorsements. Thousands of young people are looking for an alternative in the elections so they don't have to vote for racist,

sexist, and warmaking politicians. We just have to find them and get them to sign up as endorsers of Roberta Scherr's campaign."

Paparello continued, "Our concept of a campaign endorser is totally different from that of the Democrats and Republicans, just as our program is totally different. The major parties only seek the endorsement of wealthy and influential politicians and businessmen because those are the people they represent. Scherr will get her endorsers from the same place she gets her support: youth, women, working people, Afro-Americans, gays, and everyone who has a stake in changing society."

Young Socialists for Scherr has just completed a campaign for student government elections at Case Western Reserve University. Through the course of the campaign, more than 2,000 Case Western Reserve University Young Socialists for Scherr brochures were distributed in dorm canvasses and at candidate meetings.

Another YSS campaign is just beginning at Cleveland State University, where Young Socialists for Scherr will be running candidates for freshman representative to the student government. One Young Socialist for Scherr already serves on the CSU student government.

The Scherr for mayor spring election campaign offensive will culminate in a three week drive to put Scherr on the ballot. From March 31 to April 20, Young Socialists for Scherr, along with many who support the right of socialists to run for office, will gather over 6,000 signatures, twice the legally required number, to ensure Scherr a place on the ballot this fall.

The ballot drive will wind up with a big socialist campaign rally April 21 featuring Scherr and Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. The rally will be held as part of a conference "Towards a Socialist America" cosponsored by the Cleveland Young Socialists for Scherr and the Ohio-Kentucky Young Socialist Alliance.

For more information about Young Socialists for Scherr, or to make a financial contribution to the Scherr for mayor campaign, write Young Socialists for Scherr, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, or call (216) 391-5553.



Roberta Scherr

Militant/Howard Petrick

The great Penn Central swindle

What's wrong with the railroads?

By DICK ROBERTS

What is wrong with the railroads? The situation is obviously bad and getting worse.

Stalled trains, hours of delay, crowded, smoky, and dirty dilapidated cars, poor or no heating in winter—these are just a few of the complaints of the thousands of East Coast commuters who are forced to ride the rails daily.

The owners of the railroad respond that they just can't do better. "Ours are the best intentions in the world and we want desperately to give the public a good service. But there's just no way of doing it and we've gone broke trying."

And these well-intentioned people have been forced to unload some of their problems on the backs of railroad workers, as in the contract dispute between the Penn Central and 28,000 United Transportation Union trainmen. The Penn Central attempted to cut train crews from three to two trainmen.

When Congress ordered the trainmen back to work Feb. 9, it asked the Nixon administration to prepare plans for reorganizing Northeastern rails. And the following day, the Senate Commerce Commission released a 750-page study calling for "exploration of the feasibility of a quasi-governmental northeast transportation authority to operate the stricken railroads."

Meanwhile the Penn Central has also asked the government for a \$600-to-\$800-million subsidy to bail it out of immediate financial difficulties.

The trouble with these approaches proposed by the railroads and the government is in the underlying assumption. The railroad industry is not today—and it never has been—run in "the public interest." The sole desire of the railroads owners is to make profits. This has to be underlined before appraising any plans by the ruling class to reorganize the rails.

Real estate speculation

Ferdinand Lundberg exposed the operations of the railroads 35 years ago. In his well-known *America's 60 Families*, Lundberg wrote that "the shambles within the New Haven Railroad would impugn every pretense of J.P. Morgan and Company to social rectitude, if nothing else did."

Lundberg recounted how the Morgan banking interests had milked the New Haven for more than \$200-million, spending only a small part of its capitalization on the railroad itself.

"The balance [was spent] on outside speculations through 336 subsidiary companies. The railroad, among other things, bought at fancy prices undesirable traction properties from Senator Aldrich [a friend of the banking interests]."

It is not a thing of the past. Swindling the public and real estate speculation are the stock-in-trade of the railroad trusts, and the Penn Central is far from being an exception.

When this giant railroad, biggest in the nation, declared that it was bankrupt, June 21, 1970, the news sent tremors of panic throughout the financial world. Emergency measures had to be undertaken to head off a collapse of credit. The company was reorganized under bankruptcy laws, and repercussions of the Penn Central demise are still being felt.

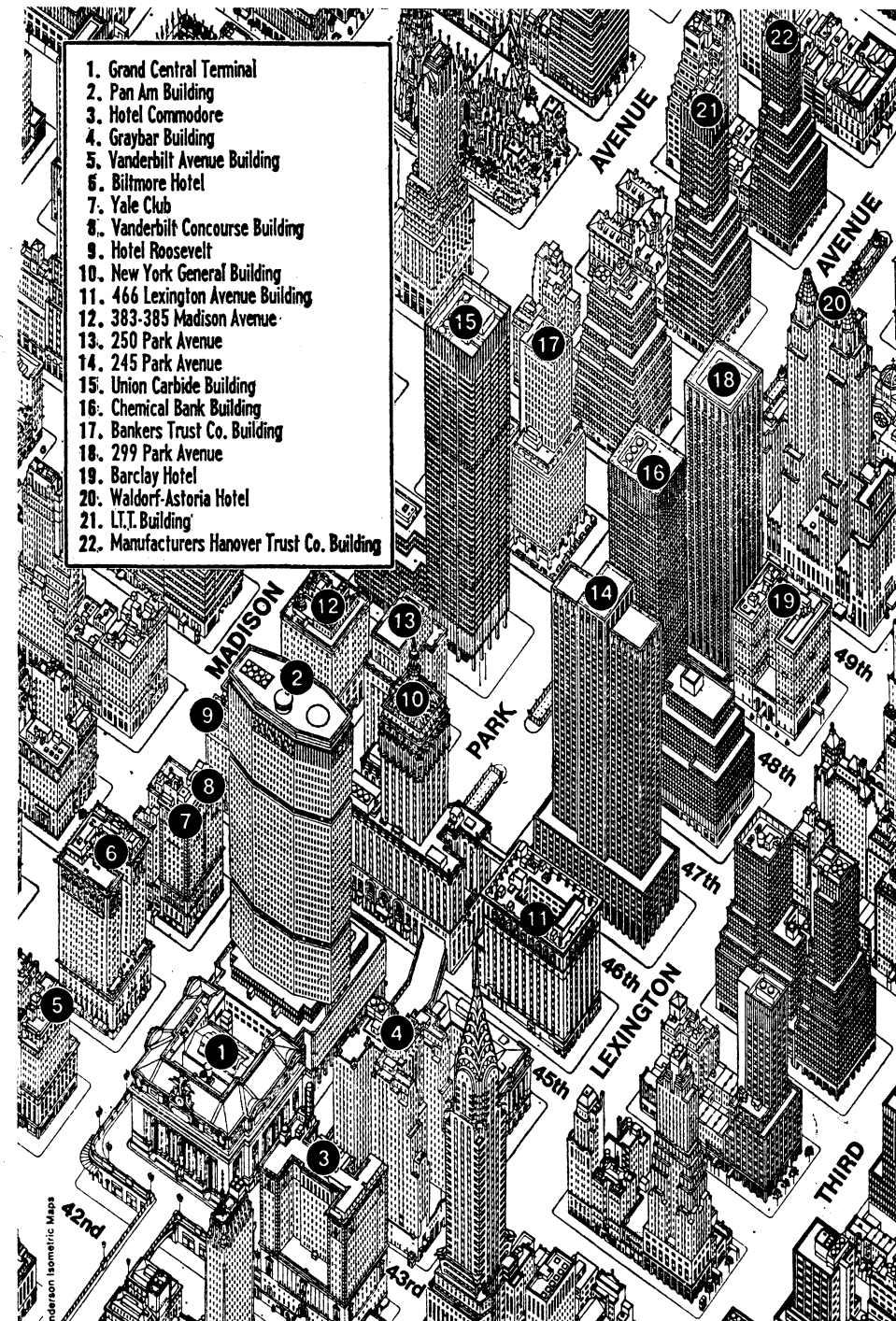
One result of all this was an extensive investigation of the Penn Central by the Interstate Commerce Commission and various congressional committees. They found that the railroad had been in deep financial troubles for years, even in February 1968

when the Penn Central was originally formed as a result of the merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads.

The actual financial details were known to only a few insiders—but these included the richest and most powerful banks in the nation.

The Penn Central was being used as a holding company to buy up hundreds of millions of dollars worth of real estate and other corporations.

Most interesting was an investigation by the House Committee on Banking and Currency into the "Penn Central Failure and the Role of Financial Institutions." This study showed that the most powerful bastions of finance capital in the United States—including the Chase Manhattan Bank and the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company—were closely involved with the secret operations of the Penn Central.



Among Penn Central's real-estate holdings was the land under these skyscrapers in downtown New York. Put up for sale in June 1971 it was valued at some \$1.2-billion.

John Grimes summarized some of the congressional findings in the *American Federationist* in September 1971. "Dividend payments were kept exceptionally high, in effect paying out borrowed money as dividends at a time when Penn Central was running heavy operating deficits. In one period, dividend payments totaled \$153 million compared to profits of \$118 million."

Grimes noted that the 1968 "merger created \$7 billion worth of complexity. The railroad arm, accounting for \$4.6 billion of the assets, controls directly or indirectly a large number of companies of every type and variety. More than 75 of these companies are engaged in railroad, pipeline and trucking activities. Over 75 other companies are engaged in such [enterprises] as real estate development, water companies, apartment houses, hotels, golf clubs, amusement parks, manufacturing companies and even an advertising firm."

At the time of its declared bankruptcy, the Penn Central was seventh largest U.S. corporation in terms of assets and the second largest real estate owner in the nation after the Catholic Church.

Both banks and other leading financial institutions utilized their inside information to drop hundreds of thousands of shares of Penn Central at millions of dollars of profit on the New York stock exchange. This was established in some detail by the House Banking Committee.

It found that on May 19 and 21, 1970, Penn Central executives met secretly with U.S. Treasury Secretary David Kennedy and representatives of leading New York banks to discuss the financial conditions of the railroad. The results of these meetings were not made public until May 28. *In the intervening period the financial institutions had sold about 1.5 million shares of Penn Central!*

"On May 22, 25, and 26, Chase Manhattan's sales of PC common stock accounted for . . . 32, 34, and 28 percent, respectively, of the total sales of this security sold on the Exchanges—an average of about one out of every three shares sold," the House committee reported.

When the Penn Central merger was announced in 1968, the common stock rose to as high as \$86. Today it is selling for around \$3. The difference in hundreds of millions of dollars of

paper values has gone to the insiders. Thousands of small-time investors were fleeced in the process—by their "friends at Chase Manhattan."

Scores of petty operations, so typical of U.S. corporate business, are also disclosed in the voluminous congressional investigations. They range from Florida real estate ventures to "health clubs" and a special international airline for executives only, including "stewardesses" hired for the businessmen's pleasure.

Bankruptcy

Since the declaration of bankruptcy, the Penn Central has been operated by court-appointed trustees. But the purpose of the operation remains the same.

Involved here is the question of what should happen to the hundreds of millions of dollars of assets held by the bankrupt corporation. Some of these have been liquidated, as in the sale of Penn Central's New York property depicted on this page—the largest real estate offering in history.

But then what happens to the money from the liquidated assets? Shouldn't that be used to finance the railroad? Not according to Penn Central's creditors. They want the cash, and the bankruptcy trustees have tied up these assets pending repayment of the creditors. *Business Week* magazine rhetorically asked Jan. 13, "Can the underlying assets of a bankrupt utility be used to pay for its day-to-day operations, in the interest of maintaining an essential public service but to the obvious detriment of the creditors?"

And the financial magazine continued, "After federal, state, and local governments, the list of Penn Central creditors reads like a list of who's who in industry and finance. Banks such as New York's First National City and Morgan Guaranty Trust are each claiming more than \$350-million. Insurance companies, including the Equitable, Prudential, Metropolitan, New York Life, Connecticut General, Aetna, and John Hancock, are all there. Companies such as General Motors and General Electric have huge claims. Then there are investment banks such as Goldman Sachs. Not to be overlooked is the \$175-million claim filed by Richard Joyce Smith, trustee of the bankrupt New Haven RR, which was acquired by the Penn Central."

Thus the pillars of U.S. finance who secretly inflated Penn Central stock prices, milked the railroad for all it was worth in dividends, and swindled dozens of smaller businessmen and the public in the process are now at each other's throats to squeeze every last drop of money out of the bankrupt corporation, regardless of what happens to the rail lines and the workers on them. In fact they are trying to sell 5,000 miles of track—a quarter of Penn Central's lines—to raise the money from the scrap metal on them.

A more classic example of monopoly capitalism in action can hardly be remembered. It is epitomized by the remark of an unnamed executive who holds senior liens on Penn Central property, quoted by *Business Week*: "The first time Penn Central tries to divert capital, we will not stand idly by," the businessman said. "We will not have somebody say to us that railroads must operate in the public interest, because we are the public, too."

The quandary of the Penn Central and other eastern railroads closely connected with it has reached the point where influential financial sectors fa-

Continued on page 22

N.Y. public employees' pension plan threatened

By JAMES MENDIETA

NEW YORK—A new front has been opened in the relentless attack on wages and benefits of workers in New York. On Feb. 6, Governor Nelson Rockefeller urged the New York state legislature to approve a new pension plan. This "uniform pension plan for new public workers" calls for major reductions in the pensions of workers hired after July 1, 1973.

If this plan is adopted, all new workers on the New York subway system, for example, will have to work until age 65 and must have 30 years on the job to qualify for a smaller pension than a 50-year-old worker with 20 years on the job can collect under the present pension plan.

The new plan lumps state pensions and Social Security retirement together. At present a 50-year-old worker who qualifies for the state pension may also qualify for Social Security at age 65. By lumping the two pensions together, the amount the worker will collect after 65, if he lasts that long, is reduced at least 35 percent. Benefits before 65 are greatly reduced.

The "permanent commission on public employee pension and retirement systems" conducted the study that led to this raid on the pensions of public workers. It is made up solely of businessmen, corporate executives, and their political servitors. The star performers are Otto Kinzel, committee chairman, and Dr. Joseph Metz, its executive director. Kinzel is former counsel to Union Carbide Corporation.

A coalition of public employee unions has denounced the new plan for discriminating against members of racial minorities who are being hired now in greater numbers than in the past. John DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association in New York City was quoted by the newspapers as telling state legislators who are inclined to support the new plan to "change their minds—if they have minds."

Nothing has been done to mobilize the membership of any union for a serious fight to save pension benefits. The Transport Workers Union is urging a timid letter-writing campaign. When a TWU member suggested a demonstration and picket line in Albany, the union officials said they hope to settle the whole question through quiet negotiations and lobbying.

The union bureaucrats have a greater stake in this matter than they appear to realize. If the present pension plan is lost, the old-timers who are covered by it and will benefit from it will stay with the union. But under New York state law, public service workers are not required to belong to any union. A union that does nothing to raise wages, improve conditions, or retain fringe benefits is not likely to attract new workers coming into the industry.

The new pension scheme is not only an attack on public workers' benefits. It is also an attack on workers in private industry. It is understood this way by the Transit Authority and by employers in private industry who are working together on the scheme. New York Telephone and Consolidated Edison are both behind it. They know that workers in the big companies will soon demand pensions equal to those of city and state workers. The best thing for the companies is to rub out city and state pensions.

Officials of the TWU are worried but aren't doing anything. The oldtime "rank-and-file opposition," which has been expelled from the TWU, is not benefiting from the leadership's failure to act. The workers are taking a "wait and see" attitude.

Chicago welfare workers fight cuts in client service

By DEL GRANT

CHICAGO—Social service employees here are protesting staff shortages and reorganization of the welfare offices that jeopardize service to welfare clients and the job security of social workers. Many of the welfare workers are represented by the Illinois Union of Social Service Employees (IUSSE).

Workers at three of the 26 welfare offices—Wicker Park, Englewood, and Southern District—have been holding sick-ins and picket lines against the speedup due to chronic understaffing. Wicker Park is in a Black and Puerto Rican community; Englewood and Southern District are in the Southside Black community.

On Feb. 6, 100 welfare workers from Southern held a picket line at the Central Administrative Office in the downtown Loop area. The next day, between 150 and 200 staff members at Southern joined an informational picket line outside the office before work and during lunch.

There were about 200 spirited people on the picket line at Southern Feb. 14, with participation from two other offices, Robert Taylor and Woodlawn. Some of the chants were: "What do we want? Staff! When do we want it? Now!" and "Unpaid and overworked!" One sign read "Fight poverty, hire workers."

The Southern District workers are demanding that 32 case managers, six typists, and 10 file clerks be hired immediately.

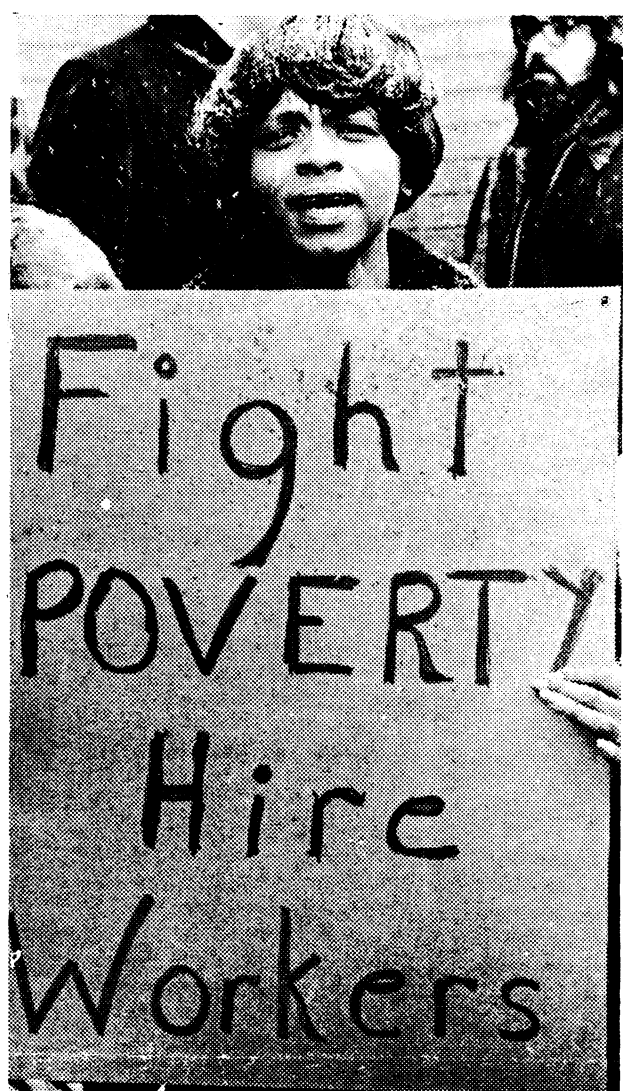
In response, the city has tried to reassign workers. On Feb. 21 eight new case managers at Wicker Park were told to report to the Central Administrative Office (CAO) for reassignment. A petition was drawn up protesting this and about 140 of the 150 workers at the office signed it. The next day workers from three offices went to the CAO to protest the reassignments. As a result, they were canceled.

According to the Department of Public Aid's own figures, the number of social workers is decreasing in Chicago. In 1967 there were 1,900 caseworkers. In 1972 the number dropped to 1,860, during a period of tremendous increase in caseload size.

The Department of Public Aid has a newly appointed head, Joel Edelman. The Feb. 9 *Chicago Sun-Times* quoted him as saying his "two immediate" goals are getting "ineligible" recipients off the rolls and curbing "spiraling Medicaid costs."

But in a Feb. 10 article in the *Daily Defender*, Chicago's Black newspaper, Edelman was quoted as saying he intends "to make the system do what it's designed for—to serve human needs." Despite their hypocritical words, the welfare administrators' deeds show they are concerned with neither the social workers' needs nor the needs of the clients.

During the month of January, the Department of Public Aid was totally reorganized. Previously, social workers were responsible for providing social services, determining eligibility, and authorizing payment of cash assistance. The new plan divides these responsibilities between "income



Picketer at Chicago's Southern District welfare office

maintenance specialists," who administer payments, and "service workers," whose tasks are child placements and education referrals.

This new plan is in accord with the mandatory guidelines of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Illinois had to comply or risk losing its federal public-assistance funds.

These nationwide changes are part of the Nixon administration's plan to federalize welfare under the Family Assistance Plan. For welfare clients this means another loss of social services and another step in the dehumanization process. Instead of one human contact, the caseworker, the client must now deal with a complicated maze.

For example, in order to get a budget change or an educational referral, a welfare client must wait a couple of hours to see the income maintenance worker and then return to the receptionist to be referred to the service worker.

The welfare administrators claim this new reorganization will free the social workers to provide better service to clients. But in fact, the majority of the present staff have become income maintenance workers, while as few as 5 percent are service workers.

Ex-inmate tells of prison strike

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Walter Collins is a 27-year-old Black organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a civil rights organization. He recently talked to reporters from the radical press about his two-year imprisonment at a federal prison in Texarkana, Texas.

Collins served the time on five five-year sentences—to be served concurrently—for refusing the draft. Paroled Dec. 6, Collins talked of plans to file a suit against the Federal Prison Industries for the abysmally low wages paid to men and women in prison.

He said prisoners produce everything from clothes to furniture. The federal treasury reaped \$26-million from exploiting the prisoners in 1970 alone.

Collins described at length a four-day strike last April in the Texarkana prison. More than 90 percent of the inmates—of whom 50 percent are white, 30 percent Black, and 20 percent

Chicano—supported the strike.

The strike broke out spontaneously, and Collins was among those elected at a mass meeting to the negotiating committee. Some of their demands included the right of Black inmates to organize, end of mail censorship, an inmate-controlled newspaper, fair pay for work, end of racial discrimination in jobs, and improvement in the library and medical facilities.

Although prison authorities relaxed some restrictions, they transferred a number of strike spokesmen to other prisons and placed the rest—including Collins—in solitary confinement.

Many of the younger guards and Black officials sympathized with inmate aims, Collins reported. And as a result of a campaign SCEF waged against the attempted victimization of Collins, prison authorities retreated and paroled him only a couple of months behind schedule.

Coupled with the legal suit, Collins plans to speak out and organize in behalf of prisoners.

Secret research on campus

Science Against the People. Researched, written, and produced by Berkeley Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action (SESPA). Berkeley, 1972. 44 pp. Paper \$1.

This pamphlet, written in December 1972, will be of great interest to student antiwar activists as they begin to consider what some of the long-term effects of the Vietnam war will be in their schools. *Science Against the People* describes the activities of Jason, a high-level secret scientific advisory group set up in 1959 to place services of some of the top scientists in this country at the disposal of the cold warriors in Washington.

This pamphlet exposes the role of Jason in developing the automated battlefield, beginning in 1966, which was to become a key element in the U.S. strategy of "Vietnamization" in later years.

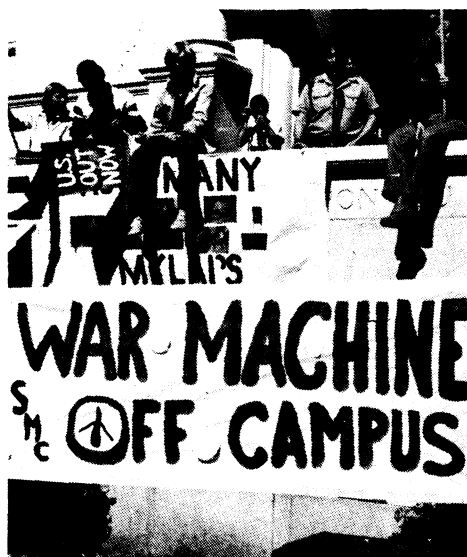
In pursuit of higher consultation fees, prestige, and access to "inside channels" in government, leading university scientists, including several Nobel Prize winners, participated in the development of cluster bomb systems, people "sniffers," and other antiper-

Pamphlets

sonnel weapons, which have shocked the conscience of the world.

Science Against the People documents these facts and argues with the rationale of the scientists who so criminally pervert the creative potential of their knowledge in the service of imperialism, not only in Vietnam but everywhere in the world—including here in the U.S.

Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action (SESPA), argues that the use of university facilities to



Bill Greenwood

conduct secret research for counter-revolution is an abuse of academic freedom that threatens not only the best interests of education but of the entire human race.

To obtain a copy of the pamphlet, write to SESPA, P. O. Box 4161, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

— PETER SEIDMAN

Tout Va Bien



May-June 1968 in France

Tout Va Bien. Directed by Jean-Luc Godard. Starring Jane Fonda and Yves Montand. New Yorker Films Release. French, with English subtitles. 1972.

Godard's *Tout Va Bien* (All Goes Well) deals with some of the personal and psychological problems posed by the May-June 1968 general strike and mass upsurge in France and the radicalization and social struggles that followed.

Yves Montand and Jane Fonda play a filmmaker and his wife, an American radio correspondent. The film is set in present-day France, with flashbacks to the May-June 1968 student and worker struggles.

The initial phase centers on the occupation of a sausage factory by its workers. Fonda has gone there to interview the manager "on the problems of French management today," accompanied by Montand. The manager expounds "stirring" on the stability of "modern" capitalism and how class collaboration has swept away all of the "evils described by Marx and Engels." Meanwhile, his

Film

whole plant is occupied by workers fighting against these "evils." He, Fonda, and Montand are locked in an office for five days.

The workers rejoice at struggling and taking things into their own hands. They talk about how happy they feel to beat up the foremen and go beyond the tokenist and class-collaborationist strategies their shop steward proposes.

The steward reads a speech prepared by the Communist Party-dominated CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor), which is trying to end the workers' strike with appeals for "peoples' unity." The workers chase him out.

(The *Daily World*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the U.S. Communist Party, has attacked this sequence as "anti-Communist." The CP mistakes for communism the anti-working class, class-collaborationist politics it and its French counterpart practice.)

The second segment of the film is devoted to Fonda and Montand's personal lives in relation to the radicalization. Before May-June 1968, they believed in their lives. Radicalized afterwards, they retreated into compromises—into doing things they didn't have to believe in or struggle around—things that are acceptable.

Montand makes commercials, instead of films, so he won't have to "say anything." Fonda finds a niche as the network's "extreme-left specialist." Their personal lives are a similar compromise.

Repoliticized by their brush with the factory occupation, they reject their personal compromise as one-dimensional and not related to life or to the struggle.

They separate and probe themselves. Montand reminisces about the "real thing" of the May-June fights with the cops, of people taking over things. Fonda finds herself in a supermarket—complete with a Communist author selling a "Program for the Union of the Left"—while new leftist youth exhort the shoppers to take all they want. The scene ends in a confrontation with the cops.

At the end Fonda and Montand meet again. The narrator of the film tells us it is unimportant whether they reestablish their personal-sexual relationship. What is important to Godard is that they have decided to participate in the struggle, which he sees being the "historical" purpose of life. This view is simply a personal-psychological reflex reaction—a bit oversimplified—to the great struggles that have taken place in France since May-June 1968.

The story is told in a technically proficient, interesting, and amusing way. *Tout Va Bien* is well worth seeing. — TONY THOMAS

Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie

The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie. Directed by Luis Buñuel. Released by 20th Century Fox. French, with English subtitles. 1972.

Luis Buñuel, that untiring atheist and antibourgeois, has once again created a deft satire of the ruling class. With a surgeon's sense of humor he slices away to reveal the banal and self-centered creatures underneath. Through Buñuel's camera-eye we see these bourgeois as mediocre and foolish, totally occupied with filling their stomachs and placating their egos.

But Buñuel never lets us forget that these pathetic individuals, however simple they may seem, run society and poison it with their own self-interest.

He presents us, for instance, with the ambassador of the Republic of Miranda (a mythical Latin American country) and his two "business associates," who smuggle heroin into

Film

France in the ambassador's diplomatic pouch. Throughout the film, the ambassador and his circle of friends try to get together to stuff themselves with lamb and caviar. But they are continually frustrated in doing so; first by their own bumbling mistakes, later by their amplified fears and insecurity.

To express the personal terror and fear felt by the bourgeoisie, Buñuel employs dream sequences reminiscent of his early work 40 years ago. In these sequences the characters create their own personal hells. One fears being exposed on the stage of a theater without knowing his lines. Another, being gunned down by terrorists. Still another, the ambassador of Miranda, becomes barraged with embarrassing questions on the mass poverty in his country, on the harboring of ex-Nazis, on the killing of students and political opponents.

In one sequence, they are all inadvertently arrested by the French police for heroin trafficking. As Buñuel comments on their "class solidarity," they are released through the intervention of the French secretary of state—for "diplomatic" reasons, of course.

Appropriately, the acting and direction are very loose and stylized, as in a daytime soap opera. In addition, the satire in *The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie* is more lighthearted and less bitter than in *The Exterminating Angel*, which Buñuel did 10 years ago; it's more of a tweak on the nose than a slap across the face.

The film ends with the six bourgeois characters casually walking down a road as if on their way to yet another dinner engagement. Buñuel seems to be pointing to the bourgeoisie's tenacity for survival, despite all their fears, as if to say that poking fun at them isn't enough, that it will take more to break their grip on society than simple satire.

— ERNEST HARSCH

Three areas go over goals

Militant sales drive begins

By NANCY COLE

FEB. 28—*Militant* supporters across the country have spent the past week organizing the spring campaign to increase single copy sales of *The Militant*. As the scoreboard indicates, 25 areas have so far pledged a total weekly sales goal of 7,065 *Militants*.

The campaign will last until the end of May, but many areas report they plan to reach their initial sales goals right away. Three places went over their goals in the first week—Washington, D. C., Houston, and Lower Manhattan, N. Y. They



are now considering raising their sights.

With a quota of 250, last week members of the Washington, D. C., Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party sold 267 copies of *The Militant*. Top seller was Paul Freeman, who sold 56. YSA sales director Tex Xelowski attributes this early success to the number and variety of sales locations. Last week's sales included more than 100 at colleges, 30 in the downtown area, 53 at two street corners, and more than 100 at the Feb. 20 demonstration against the federal budget cuts, the Feb. 17 NOW convention, and the Feb. 24 NPAC and SMC steering committee meeting and picket line.

With many more sites picked for future sales, and an enthusiastic participation of more than 20 salespeople last week, the prospect of raising their sales quota looks good. As part of their campaign spirit, a big banner in the headquarters shared by the SWP and YSA reads: "Militant Sales Campaign—We Need Hundreds of New Readers!"

Houston *Militant* supporters went 55 over their quota last week, with a total of 380 sold. Their best sales were at high schools, where they sold 150 *Militants*, reports SWP sales director Debby

Vernier. They are also finding sales of the *Young Socialist* easy at Houston high schools. University of Houston students bought 100 *Militants*, and the remaining 130 were sold at grocery stores, concerts, and a rodeo.

Lower Manhattan YSA and SWP members have just completed their most successful sales week of the year, going over their weekly goal by selling 371 *Militants*. Four campuses accounted for 174 of these, 50 were sold at the Port Authority bus terminal, and about 60 were sold at a number of political meetings. According to sales director Ron Wolin, they're trying to sell at as many political meetings as possible, including sales every week at District 1 Coalition for Education meetings.

With some areas shooting for as many as 500 *Militants* a week or more, they are finding it necessary to chart their projected sales places and the number they expect to sell at each. The sales campaign is requiring a new and imaginative look at *Militant* sales. Experimentation is the key to substantially increasing sales, and supporters in at least one city, San Diego, are making this concrete by including in their plans the goal of selling at one new place each week.

Both the Brooklyn and Upper West Side YSA and SWP are experimenting with street corner sales, especially those near their bookstores and forum halls. Their aim is to establish a number of corners where people will expect to see *The Militant* every week. Sunday sales at museums are also part of this experiment for both Upper West Side and Lower Manhattan.

One idea, which Upper West Side and Brooklyn are including in their plans, is to begin regular night sales at campuses where they now sell during the day. While these are not new locations, they expose *The Militant* to new readers and provide salespeople who have jobs during the day a place to sell at night.

The scoreboard will grow each week, as more and more *Militant* supporters decide to join this campaign. If you can help, fill out the coupon below. If you want, your quota will be listed in the scoreboard. The bundle price is 12.5 cents per copy, and you can pay for the bundle after you sell it.

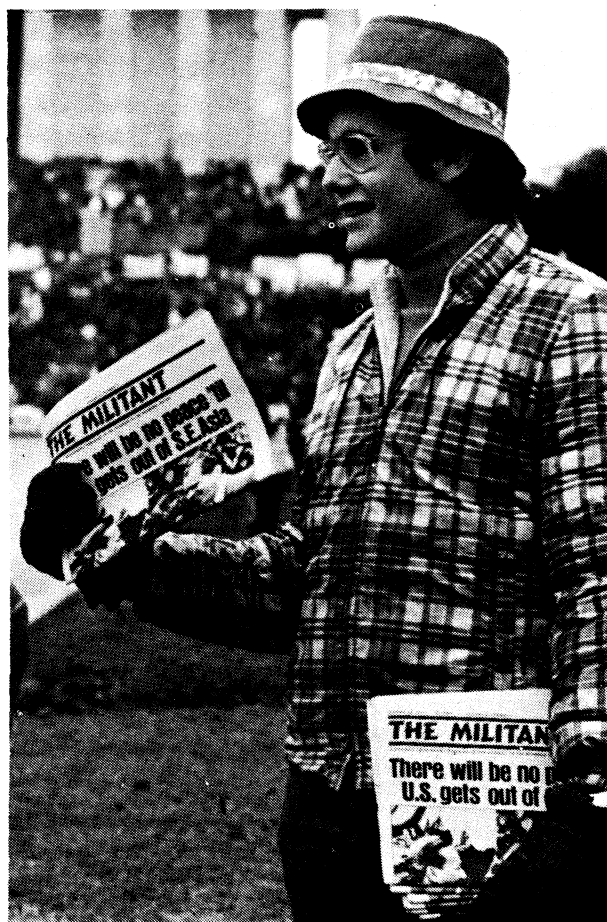
Please send me a weekly bundle of (circle one)
5 10 15 20 25 Other

List my sales quota as _____ on the scoreboard.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Militant scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Houston, Texas	325	380	117
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	325	371	114
Washington, D.C.	250	267	107
Austin, Texas	200	190	95
Storrs, Conn.	30	25	83
San Diego, Calif.	200	159	80
Atlanta, Ga.	250	198	79
Upper West Side, N.Y.	325	237	73
College Park, Md.	60	43	72
Bloomington, Ind.	160	110	69
Madison, Wis.	55	38	69
Detroit, Mich.	350	220	63
Brooklyn, N.Y.	325	197	61
Chicago, Ill.	500	306	61
Cleveland, Ohio	250	150	60
Philadelphia, Pa.	275	161	59
Denver, Colo.	225	125	56
Portland, Ore.	200	103	52
Oakland/Berkeley, Calif.	500	235	47
San Francisco, Calif.	500	226	45
Twin Cities, Minn.	425	187	44
Boston, Mass.	500	158	32
St. Louis, Mo.	35	10	29
Seattle, Wash.	250	52	21
Los Angeles, Calif.	550	105	19
TOTAL	7,065	4,253	60



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

N.Y. court hears voter registration suit

By EILEEN WELLS

FEB. 26—New York Supreme Court Judge Waltemade heard arguments today on a suit against the board of elections and the board of education. The suit charges them with failure to provide parents with adequate opportunities to register for the May 1 school board elections.

The suit seeks to establish the right of parents to register by mail, as well as to remove other obstacles to registering.

The Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, in cooperation with the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), filed the suit on behalf of voters and candidates from eight school districts.

Under the 1969 school decentralization law, all parents, including noncitizens, are eligible to vote in school board elections. The board of elections is currently planning only one week of local registration for parents. Prior to the 1970 school board elections, four weeks were provided. Judy Baumann, national secretary of CoDEL, called the present plans "totally inadequate."

A preliminary study CoDEL released Feb. 22 indicates that the parents with low incomes are most affected by a lack of registration opportunities. Only 14 percent of the parents surveyed from Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods were found to be currently registered.

Attorneys for the two city agencies declined to argue against the proposal for a mail-in registration system. They said that if such a system is found to be legal, it would be implemented immediately.

A decision is expected later this week.

Kitty Hawk trials convict Black sailors

By MARILEE SAVAGE

SAN DIEGO, Feb. 28—Airman Apprentice Lawrence Wommack Jr., 20, a Black former *Kitty Hawk* sailor, was sentenced Feb. 23 to 60 days at hard labor, reduction to seaman recruit, and fined \$600 by a four-man jury.

The jury recommended that the confinement at hard labor and the reduction in rank be suspended for six months. It will be up to Captain Robert McKenzie, commanding officer at North Island Naval Air Station, to approve or disapprove the recommendation. But McKenzie is the one who originally ordered the courtmartial of Wommack and the 22 other *Kitty Hawk* sailors.

Wommack was convicted of two counts of assault and two of riot in connection with an incident that occurred on the ship Oct. 12-13 during which 46 crewmen were injured.

He and 15 other Black sailors were accused of assembling to assault Seaman Charles Beck, a sailor. Beck is 6 feet tall and weighs about 200 pounds. He accused Wommack, who is five feet five inches tall and weighs 140 pounds, of assaulting him. There is evidence that Beck lied under oath. Nevertheless, the Navy prosecutor urged the jury to give Wommack a punitive discharge, claiming "it would be inappropriate to return this convicted man to duty."

Two weeks ago, Airman William Boone, another white sailor, was acquitted on charges of assault. Boone was accused of kicking a Black sailor, Charles Green, who had been elected to the Minority Affairs and Human Relations Board on ship. It was in that capacity, and acting on the request of Black Executive Officer Commander Benjamin Cloud, that Green was running to sick bay to get help for an injured man. On the way, he was kicked by Boone. Boone said he kicked Green because he thought he would try to "harm him."

Just yesterday, the Navy announced it was overturning the conviction of a Black sailor, Seaman Cleveland Mallory, in what was described as a "routine review." Mallory was originally convicted of assault and riot and was given a bad conduct discharge and reduced in rank. He will now be returned to his original rank; and his records will be purged of all information dealing with the trial.

Today, the Navy announced it was dismissing all charges against Terry Avinger, another Black sailor. But Avinger still faces charges on infractions incurred during his stay in the Navy brig while awaiting trial.

Emile Brizio dies in Detroit

By FRANK LOVELL

Emile Brizio died in Detroit Feb. 11 at age 84, following a heart attack.

Born in Italy, Emile worked most of his life as a waiter, serving the rich in their expensive dining rooms on three continents. He worked in France, Canada, the United States, and Hawaii. He was fluent in English, French, Spanish, and Italian, and also spoke several Slavic languages. He sometimes remarked upon his linguistic "gift."

From his youth he turned his talents to the service of the working class movement and on that account was exiled from Italy during the fascist dictatorship, returning there for a visit only a few years before his death. He was a member of the Italian Socialist Party before World War I and identified with the Italian anarchist movement in this country. He worked with the anarchist leader Carlo Tresca. For a time he was active in the IWW, and later supported the Communist Party.

After the 1956 Khrushchev revelations of Stalin's crimes, Emile began to attend the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit, where he listened to the debates and participated in the discussion of the history and development of the socialist movement in this country and throughout the world. He didn't stop coming to the Detroit forum until the day he was hospitalized, six weeks before his death. He had a world outlook and was a class-conscious worker who sought to change the world. He is missed by all who knew him.

...Laos

Continued from page 10

Already it has been revealed that the Vietnam accords contained at least one secret clause on Laos and Cambodia. Does the Laos pact have simi-

lar clauses? Have the liberation forces agreed not to go beyond what they have already achieved in the Vietnamese accords?

It could well be that Hanoi and the Pathet Lao have been blackmailed into making an agreement of an unfavorable nature. Did Kissinger, who was recently in Vientiane and Hanoi, warn the liberation forces that if they sought the overturn of the present system in Laos, they would be met by a barrage of B-52 attacks? If this is the case, Hanoi's failure to disclose it would be nearly as disastrous to the revolutionary movement as North Vietnam's agreeing voluntarily to restrict the Laotian struggle to the fight for a coalition regime.

The Laotian pact represents in essence an application of the PRG's seven-point program. The future of Laos will therefore go a long way towards demonstrating what that program really means.

...France

Continued from page 12

most that we can to promote a result that will open up a vast perspective for the development of the class struggle."

A central aspect of the League's campaign is opposition to the Union of the Left and its class-collaborationist "Common Program." Pierre Frank, writing in the Feb. 26 *Intercontinental Press*, quoted speeches by Alain Krivine and Daniel Bensaid, two members of the League's political bureau, delivered at a rally of more than 6,000 that launched the League's campaign in the Paris region.

Krivine stated: "The common program is another blind alley, just like the program of the [1936] Popular Front or that of the Liberation [the postwar coalition government, presided over by De Gaulle, which included the Communist and Socialist parties]. The components of the Union of the Left think social institutions are neutral; they want to build socialism by using the present structures. It's like giving a drinking straw to a fireman and thinking that that makes it a fire extinguisher. . . .

"For revolutionists, there is only one

road to socialism. The bourgeois state must be destroyed and the dictatorship of the proletariat established. But the reformist, Social Democratic, and Stalinist leaders will not have a free hand the way they did in the past. . . . They're afraid of a working-class upsurge. And they can count on us to do everything we can to organize it. For the first time, thanks to 1968, the question of power is posed."

At the same rally, Daniel Bensaid pointed out the anti-working-class logic of the Union of the Left's refusal to take steps that would go beyond the framework of capitalism:

"Those who are trying to administer capitalism will be led, whether they like it or not, to impose the rule of capital on the workers. . . . If you start by bending over, you'll wind up crawling. We must stand up straight, fight with daring, and show that we are determined to win."

The Communist League has also counterposed its positions to those of the Union of the Left on such issues as working conditions, student rights, abortion, international policy, and democracy within the workers' movement. It has held scores of campaign rallies—on campuses, in high schools, public markets, and at factory gates—and has confronted both Union of the Left and UDR candidates at their meetings across France.

In our next issue we will take up the criticisms of the Communist League's positions by other "far left" organizations and the Communist League's responses.

...Penn C

Continued from page 18

vor some kind of semi-governmental control of the rails in order to put them into profitable shape. Speaking for these interests, the editors of the *New York Times* declared on Feb. 9, "Some interim form of public authority will have to be devised to operate the system until it can be restored to viable operation under private auspices."

They have the same thing in mind as before: whether under corporate management, bankruptcy trustees, or quasi-governmental authority, to run

the rails for profits. That is the name of the game.

And it is also why the only viable solution to the problems of the railroads is that they be nationalized under the control of the workers who run them and the passengers who ride them. Only by taking the railroads out of the hands of the financial profiteers can a well-functioning line be operated.

...schools

Continued from page 24

"We Blacks and Puerto Ricans are tired of this, and we're not going to take it any more."

The meeting was chaired by Claudio Tavarez, a paraprofessional and activist in the Coalition for Education in District 1. He announced that the coalition will be endorsing and actively campaigning for a slate of school board candidates who are pro-community control. The slate, to be announced this week, "can set an example for the city as to how to conduct a real election to have Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese in control of our schools," he said.

A collection taken for the work of the Parents Council and the Coalition for Education netted \$97.48.

The fact that there were large numbers of teachers, paraprofessionals, and parents in the audience made the discussion period very lively. At one point, a teacher blamed the school crisis on "disruptive" students. She was answered by Gonzales, who said, "If the kids feel you don't respect them, if you treat them like animals, if you act like they can't learn, they will act that way."

Another teacher told her colleague, "If you are concerned about your students you will not only attempt to teach them, but to galvanize your peers to get them to do something to make people aware of the social problems that affect your students."

Eva Chertov, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council from District 3 (in which School District 1 is located) was in the audience. She expressed her solidarity with the struggles for community control in Districts 1 and 4, and with the slate the Coalition for Education is backing in the May 1 school board election.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
 Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.
 Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 11071/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.
 Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.
 Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.
 San Diego: Militant Bookstore, SWP and YSA, 5617 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 582-3352.
 San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
 San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 543 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.
 San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.
 Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.
COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.
 Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.
CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, 186 S. Highland St., W. Hartford, Conn. 06119. Tel: (203) 523-7582.
 New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.
 Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.
FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.
GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.
ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Lawrence Roth/Mark Harris, 505 S. Graham, #341, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.
 Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.
INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St., Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.
KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.
MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.
 Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.
MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TEI-6135.
 East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.
 Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.
MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.
MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.
 St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.
NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.
NEW JERSEY: Red Bank: YSA, P.O. Box 222, Rumson, N.J. 07760.
NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.
NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.
 Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.
 Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.
 New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.) Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.
 Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.
 Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.
OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.
 Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.
 Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

el: (216) 391-5553.
COLUMBIA: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228.
TOLEDO: YSA, c/o Shannon O'Toole, 1606 Freeman St., #2, Toledo, Ohio 43606. Tel: (419) 472-2592.
 Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.
OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 12161/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.
 Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.
PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.
 Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.
RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.
SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, Box 1658, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S.Dak. 57102.
TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.
TEXAS: Austin: YSA and SWP, P.O. Box 7753, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712. Tel: (512) 478-8602.
 Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.
 Lubbock: YSA, c/o Tim McGovern, P.O. Box 5090, Tech. Station, Lubbock, Texas 79409.
 San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.
UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.
VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.
WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.
 Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.
WEST VIRGINIA: Huntington: YSA, c/o Rick Higgins, 529 Elm St., Huntington, W. Va. 25701.
WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

Calendar

ATLANTA

MILITANT BOOKSTORE FORUM SERIES. Held every week on topics of interest—the Black struggle, women's liberation, the Vietnamese revolution, socialism—panels, films, guest speakers, debates. Every Friday, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., downtown Atlanta. For information call (404) 523-0610.

AUSTIN

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM: A Salute to International Women's Day. Speaker: Terry Hardy. Fri., March 9, 8 p.m. 1801 Nueces. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

BROOKLYN

THE ROOTS OF THE MONETARY CRISIS. Speakers: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant; Dick Bass, professor of economics at Queens College. Fri., March 9, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

WHERE DOES THE ABORTION MOVEMENT STAND TODAY? Panel discussion including Diane Altman, counselor to Clergy Consultation Service; Ralph Brown, counsel and a founder of the Illinois Citizens for Medical Control of Abortion and member of board of directors for the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws; Suzanne Haig, member of Socialist Workers Party and a leader of Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition; Lonny Myers, founder of the Illinois Citizens for Medical Control of Abortion. Fri., March 9, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

LOS ANGELES

WOMEN IN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Natalie Bombaro, candidate for L.A. Community College board of trustees, endorsed by Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance; Sheavy Geldman, socialist and feminist activist; Jane Harris, UCLA Women's Union. Fri., March 9, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK CITY

INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR ABORTION RIGHTS. Hear Gisele Halimi, Michelle Chevalier, Claude Servan-Schreiber, Bella Abzug, Florynce Kennedy, and others. Sat., March 10, 7:30 p.m. Town Hall, 113 W. 43 St. Admission: \$2.50. For more information call Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, (212) 675-9150.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION FOR PUERTO RICO. Speaker: Manuel Maldonado-Denis, author of Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation and professor of Puerto Rican studies at Queens College. Friday, March 9, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

CHILD CARE IN NEW YORK CITY. Speakers: Dorothy Pittman Hughes, Committee for Community Controlled Day Care; Yvonne Fredericks, City-wide Association of Day Care Parents; a representative of the Columbia University Day Care Project. Fri., March 9, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 105th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Upper West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST FORUMS presents a weekly forum each Friday at 8 p.m. at the University of Pennsylvania's Houston Hall, 3417 Spruce St., Second Floor.

PORTLAND

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Stacey Seigle, former member of Columbia Women's Liberation and a contributor to The Militant. Fri., March 9, 7:30 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

SAN FRANCISCO

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION—A public forum to celebrate International Women's Day. Keynote speaker: Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist; Kathleen McLaughlin, activist, Irish Republican Movement; Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. Fri., March 9, 8 p.m. Main Lounge, University Center, University of San Francisco (Fulton and Parker sts.) Everyone welcome. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Associated Students USF, Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 626-9958.

SEATTLE

KICK-OFF RALLY TO LAUNCH THE 1973 MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY CAMPAIGN. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Chicana feminist, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles; Craig Honts, U of W anti-war activist, SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle; Eric Huffman, 16-year-old Franklin High School student, SWP candidate for Seattle city council. Entertainment. Sat., March 10, 8 p.m. Condon Room, University Tower Hotel. Donation: \$1.50, h.s. students 75c. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

FILM: "HOUR OF THE FURNACES"; TALK: PERONISM, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE ARGENTINE ELECTIONS. Speaker: Charles Scheer, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party and local representative of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., March 9, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Young Socialist Teams Fund needs \$10,000 by March 31!

The Young Socialist and The Militant have each launched a major drive to increase the sales of single issues of these socialist papers. Supporters will be aiming to significantly increase their regular bundle sizes. The Young Socialist has set 10,000 as a goal for its bundle circulation by May.

The twelve young socialist teams the YSA is fielding this spring are planning to play a big role in the drive to increase sales. Altogether, the teams will distribute more than 40,000 copies of The Militant and the Young Socialist during an eight-week period.

The Young Socialist Teams Fund has been launched to raise the \$10,000 necessary to finance this undertaking by March 31. \$444 was received in the past week, bringing the total raised to \$5,026, just over the halfway mark!

Your help is needed in raising the remaining \$4,974. Please send in your contribution today.



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DEFEND RIGHT TO ABORTION IN N.Y./7



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LOS ANGELES

Socialist Workers Campaign Banquet

Speakers: OLGA RODRIGUEZ, SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles; KENNETH MILINER, SWP candidate for Berkeley city council; LESLIE DORK, SWP candidate for state senate from San Diego; HARRY RING, Southwest Bureau of The Militant.

SATURDAY, MARCH 17. 6 p.m.: Refreshments. 7 p.m.: Dinner. 8:30 p.m.: Rally. Party follows. TROUPER'S HALL, 1627 N. LaBrea (near Hollywood Blvd.), Hollywood. Donation: \$5, h.s. students \$3.50. For reservations call (213) 461-8131 or (213) 463-1917.

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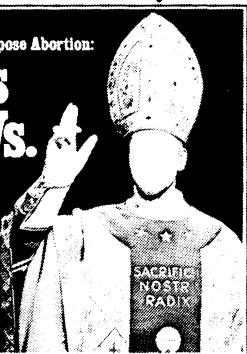
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THE MILITANT

Leaders of N.Y. school struggles exchange views

'We are tired of having our kids used'

BY DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK, Feb. 24 — Leaders of two militant community struggles around the crisis in the New York City schools were brought together at a forum here Feb. 23. The meeting, attended by 225 people, was cosponsored by the Lower Manhattan and Upper West Side Militant Forums and LUCHA—the Puerto Rican student organization at New York University.

The speakers were Luis Fuentes, superintendent of the Lower East Side's school District 1; Margarita Gonzales, head of the parent association at PS 108 in District 4 in East Harlem; and Alicia Rodriguez, a parent activist in the recent school boycott in District 4. The Reverend Wilbur Miller, a leader of the struggle in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn, had been scheduled to speak but was unable to attend because of illness.

Referring to the battle Miller has waged for the integration of Canarsie and Brownsville children, Fuentes said, "Reverend Miller and I are fighting that same racism on only slightly different fronts." Then turning towards Gonzales, he added, "Ms. Gonzales and the parents of District 4 are an example to this city; they symbolize the power of parents who have decided that the schools belong to them."

Asserting that "the ability to control our schools starts with the ability to determine our fiscal resources," Fuentes devoted most of his talk to the question of funding. He charged the board of education with using a "Robin Hood in reverse formula" that

robs funds from poor districts and allocates them to rich ones.

Fuentes estimated that \$42-million would be necessary to begin to meet the needs of District 1 schools. And, he added, "I don't care whose backs they take it off. If it has to come off the capitalist system, we welcome it. If it has to come off the Queens district [a middle class, white district], we welcome it."

Fuentes continued, "There are those who will classify this as a divisive talk—that I am pitting poor districts against those that are not so poor. I didn't pit us against each other. The board did. Their allocation formula did. Their formulas illegally steal from us, and I am merely reacting to a history of horrible imbalance."

Fuentes went on to call for a coordinated response to the unequal and inadequate allocation of funds. "I can say that it is time that the have-not districts of the city who have been short-changed at the budgeting table get their heads together before we get clobbered again."

Rodriguez detailed the development of the East Harlem school boycott last December, set off by widespread cutbacks in staff and programs in New York schools. When several teachers and two assistant principals were cut from the staff at PS 101 (the school her children attend), she and other parents marched to the district office to protest the budget cuts and demand \$4-million to improve school conditions.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Speakers at New York forum from left to right, Claudio Tavarez, Margarita Gonzales, Luis Fuentes, Alicia Rodriguez.

On their way to the office, PS 101 parents met parents from three other schools going the same place for the same purpose. "We thought that we were alone," Rodriguez said. "But we found out our needs are also the needs of the other schools, and of the whole city, too, because the budget cuts affect all of us."

Within a few days, 14 schools were involved in the protest, and a boycott was launched. An outstanding feature of the boycott, according to Rodriguez, was the fact that the teachers did not cross boycott lines. "Although the decisions were made by the parents, the teachers were 100 percent behind us."

Although PS 101 was granted only \$240,000 in additional funding as a result of the protest, a more positive

result was the formation of a Parents Council, made up of representatives of the 14 schools. The council is currently involved in putting together a slate to run in the May 1 school board elections. "We want community people, parents, to run so it will hit home when their child is three years behind," Rodriguez explained.

Gonzales began her remarks by introducing several members of the Parents Council who were in the audience. "We are tired of having our kids used by anybody," she said angrily, "and the board of education is using our kids by not sending good teachers and giving kids their educational needs." She pointed out that of District 4's 1,400 teachers, only 55 are Puerto Rican and 150 Black.

Continued on page 22

March 10 abortion rights rally

French feminists to highlight N.Y. meeting

By CLAIRE MORIARTY

NEW YORK — Fifty years ago a meeting to defend women's right to contraception and abortion, held in New York City's Town Hall, was dispersed by armed police. On Saturday, March 10 the women's liberation movement is returning to Town Hall—this time to celebrate our victory in the abortion rights struggle here in the United

States and to express our solidarity with women around the world who are fighting for the right to control their own bodies.

Since the Jan. 22 Supreme Court ruling, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition has launched a campaign of solidarity with the abortion struggle in other countries. The slogan is "No Boundaries on Abortion Rights/A Woman's Right to Choose, All Around the World!"

Featured speakers at the Town Hall meeting will include Michelle Chevalier, Gisèle Halimi, and Claude Servan-Schreiber—all leaders of the French feminist and abortion rights movements.

Michelle Chevalier, a French subway worker, turned the tables on the French government last year. She put France's repressive abortion law on trial when the government tried to convict her and several others of procuring an abortion for her 17-year-old daughter, Marie-Claire. In a trial the previous month Marie-Claire had been tried and acquitted for having an abortion.

Gisèle Halimi is the French attorney who served as defense counsel in the Chevalier trials. She is French Algerian and was a prominent defender of the Algerians during the Algerian war; equally outspoken in defense of the Vietnamese, she served on the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal. She is a founder of Choisir (Choice), a French abortion rights group.

Claude Servan-Schreiber is a feminist journalist and foreign correspondent for *Ms.* magazine. Like Halimi, she is a leader of Choisir.

Congresswoman Bella Abzug will speak about the current effort to have the Abortion Rights Act passed by Congress. The bill would remove abortion from the penal code entirely, eliminating even those restrictions permitted by the Supreme Court ruling.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of WONAAC, and Dr. Christopher Tietze, an international abortion authority from the World Population Council, will be among the other speakers.

Recently WONAAC has taken up the defense of Willy Peers, a Belgian doctor imprisoned for having performed some 300 abortions last year.

After a demonstration of some 10,000 in Namur, Belgium, and the development of a defense campaign in the U.S., Dr. Peers was freed in time to participate in a Feb. 24 abortion rights demonstration in Liège, Belgium. The *New York Times* credited the international women's liberation movement with forcing the Belgian government to release Dr. Peers.

Campus women's organizations in the New York area are planning events during the week before the Town Hall meeting to commemorate International Women's Day, March 8. Among the schools where these activities will take place are New York University, Hunter College, Barnard

College and Columbia University, Brooklyn College, Hofstra University, and Richmond College. WONAAC will distribute some 50,000 leaflets at these campus events to publicize the international abortion rights meeting.

As Susan LaMont, a WONAAC national coordinator, said at a recent Barnard College abortion rights meeting, "The March 10 meeting at Town Hall will provide a perfect focus for

FEB. 27—Yesterday the U.S. Supreme Court overruled lower-court decisions upholding several state anti-abortion laws. The high court ordered the states to change their laws in accordance with its Jan. 22 ruling legalizing abortion. Affected by yesterday's decision are Connecticut, Illinois, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, South Dakota, and Utah.

The Supreme Court refused to hear a suit against the liberalized New York abortion law by Professor Robert Byrn. His case sought to establish that the fetus has a "right to life."

the women's movement to celebrate International Women's Day. It gives American women a chance to express very concretely our solidarity with our French sisters, who are fighting one of the most reactionary abortion laws in the world."



French women demonstrating against trials of Michelle and Marie-Claire Chevalier.